**Revise the Succession Law** *The Editors*

# THE NEW REPUBLIC

*December 14, 1963, 35 cents*

## Unofficial Envoy

*Talks with Kennedy and Castro*

*Jean Daniel*

Slow-Down Smith — *Murray Kempton*

De Gaulle and Franco — *Special Report*

Gadfly Journalism — *Gerald W. Johnson*

Billy Liar — *Stanley Kauffmann*

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# T.R.B. *from Washington*

*Let's Look at the Record*

★ We are hopeful but not confident that robustious President Johnson will manage Congress better than President Kennedy. The Kennedy tragedy is that he tried to modernize America and that Congress thwarted him. Even if now a tax cut and civil rights are passed, a year will have been lost. Something must be done about Congress.

Everywhere around the world parliamentary government is on the defensive. French voters tired of it finally and turned things over to de Gaulle. It seems preposterous to say it, but American government is particularly susceptible, structurally, to that sort of thing. The enlargement of the Presidency began almost at once; its ascendancy accelerated in this century. Except dictatorships, the US is almost alone in having a singular Executive. In crises there is a tradition of making the President a near-dictator; there is another of electing generals as President after wars are over. Sometime in the next 50 to 100 years the US may have a great crisis; we have been lucky so far – but suppose our luck changes? It is *Congress* that is supposed to preserve our democracy then.

It is the chief indictment of the 88th Congress that it has failed in its principal reason for being, of maintaining a respect for the legislature as a balance to the Executive in our divided government. The White House steadily gains in prestige because the public is affronted by Congressional incompetence and negativism.

Let's record the dreary story of this session of Congress.

It is one of the longest in history yet it has not passed any of the four chief Kennedy domestic measures: civil rights, tax cuts, medicare, aid to education.

It has thus far passed less than half the 12 major appropriation bills, although the law requires they be passed, short of national emergency, by July 1. This has never happened before and creates a crisis in the Budget Bureau which must budget for next year without knowing the figure for this.

The Senate heads for a filibuster on civil rights at a time when street demonstrations seem inevitable.

The Secretary of the Senate Majority, Bobby Baker, protégé of Senator – now President – Johnson, resigns under fire, symbolizing the ethical standards of the "in" group which hands out rewards and punishments.

The ranking minority member of the House Ways and Means Committee, Rep. Byrnes (R, Wis.), weeps as he defends a 1,000 percent profit on stocks from a mortgage insurance firm he has befriended; his colleagues rise and applaud him.

The Kefauver anti-monopoly drug price investigation is smothered.

Two members of the last Congress, Boykin (D, Ala.) and Johnson (D, Md.), are simultaneously found guilty of conflict of interest.

The House votes to give itself franked, junk-mail (*i.e.*, postage-free, unaddressed) to send to constituents in their districts; an election subsidy which of course political opponents would lack.

When the Senate balks at the House junk-mail proposal, Rep. Tom Sneed (D, Okla.) threatens to disclose the name of a Senator who, he alleges, employed call girls.

Senator Dodd (D, Conn.) from the Senate floor publicly condemns the ineffectual leadership of both parties.

A single committee chairman, Rep. Aspinall (D, Colo.) refuses even to let its committee vote on the Wilderness bill, passed by the Senate.

On a junket to Paris, Congressmen take along wives and the House restaurant headwaiter. (After the last election 16 lame-duck Congressmen went to Europe at government cost.)

When asked to join a reform movement to disclose outside business interests, Minority Leader Dirksen (R, Ill.) tells the Senate emotionally he would not thus "be reduced to a Class B citizen."

And Congress prepares to vote itself a 50 percent salary increase – $32,500 a year.

This record, we submit, represents not only contempt for public opinion but institutional breakdown. A minority prevents the majority from functioning and scoffs at voters. It is not the fault of the nominal leadership but of the *de facto* leadership, the in-group, the seniority-based conservative Establishment (with a curious parallel to the *Curia* that now appears to thwart Papal liberalization in Rome).

Will President Johnson break the torpor? A great deal of gush is being written about that relationship, we believe; the fact is, Republicans can't afford to let the honeymoon last long, and we see bitter days ahead.

Our balanced system is being distorted. A Joint Commission on the Reorganization of Congress should be set up at once. How can a modern government function successfully when the Executive is refused a decision for more than a year on a crucial matter like fiscal policy, or a social revolution is shoved into the streets by an inability to reach a vote?

*Sit-down Strike*

★ Back in the 40's the American Political Science Association warned "Congress must modernize its machinery and methods to fit modern conditions if it is to keep pace with a greatly enlarged and active Executive Branch." (Congress has refused and, instead, has gone on a sit-down strike.)

Somehow or other, we think, Congress must reassemble the power and leadership that is presently recklessly pulverized among committee chairmen and committees. It must create a party machinery so that every major recommendation of the President, after appropriate debate, shall come to a vote, either up or down.

*Note:* Herbert Lehman is dead – a gentle nobleman. Was there ever an investment banker who, to the last of his strength, hit the pavements as he did for progressive, humane government?

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# The Succession Law

The Constitution provides that in case of removal of the President from office, by death or otherwise, the office shall devolve on the Vice President. That is the end of the self-executing provision. For the rest, the Constitution says that the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal of both the President and Vice President, "declaring what Officer shall then act as President."

When the Presidency devolved on Vice President Truman, the Statute then on the books ran the line of succession through the Cabinet, in the usual order of seniority, which is the order in which the offices were first established, namely, State, Treasury, War (Defense), and so on. In 1947, at Mr. Truman's instance, the new Statute changed the succession, so that now the Speaker of the House is first in line, followed by the President pro-tem of the Senate. These officers are, respectively, John McCormack and Carl Hayden. Accordingly, President Johnson has taken steps to keep Speaker McCormack current on certain security affairs. It is not known whether the President has also made with Mr. McCormack the sort of arrangements that were made both with him and with Vice President Nixon for assuming Presidential duties temporarily in the event of Presidential disability. These latter arrangements are not governed by Statutes, but are subject to Presidential discretion.

Speaker McCormack is 71. Senator Hayden is 86. It signifies no disrespect to either man to say that not in the wildest dreams of anyone – including themselves – would they be deemed Presidential timbre. Their age alone precludes. Clearly, therefore, until a new Vice President qualifies in January, 1965, the country finds itself in a precarious position. The problem is delicate, and there is no sure-fire solution to it – the Constitutional provision has itself proved imperfect, as some tenants of the Vice Presidential office have demonstrated. We have been lucky, but in this most solemn matter, it is not prudent to push one's luck too far.

The line of succession that was abandoned in 1947 was no better than what we have now. Actually, on paper, the present system is an improvement. Cabinet officers often are and often ought to be technicians, specialists, rather than national political personalities. They hold office by appointment and relatively automatic confirmation in the Senate. They are not as Cabinet members subjected to the electoral process, and many of them (Secretaries Rusk, Dillon and McNamara, for example) have never faced an election or been familiar

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with the inside of a political clubhouse. They may come from foundations, universities, banks, and places like the Ford Motor Company, and be as innocent of political experience and a wide range of domestic and foreign problems as it is possible for a high officer to be. The President carries all of that for them. It would be too fundamental a contradiction of democratic theory and practice to elevate such a man to the Presidency, and it would be a contradiction that would seriously weaken such an incumbent.

The Speaker of the House and the President pro-tem of the Senate, by contrast, are elected in their own constituencies, of course, and what is more important, they are the choices of their colleagues, expressed in formal votes, for the headship of each of the two Houses. Indirectly, but realistically enough, they represent in their own persons national constituencies. Unfortunately, however, that is a paper reality only. Memory cannot recall a time when the President pro-tem of the Senate was elected on any basis other than that he was simply the Senior Senator in point of service on the Majority side. The Speakership is not always the automatic reward of longevity; but all too often it is, or comes near to being, and in the case of Speaker McCormack, it rather was. The upshot then is that Congress disables itself by its sluggish, self-regarding, in a word, irresponsible reliance on seniority from performing a high function of state, that of filling from its rank a place in the line of Presidential succession.

Thus, the dilemma. The Cabinet succession won't do on principle. And Congress, ideally suited on principle, will not do in practice. Perhaps there is some slight ground for hoping that this grave demonstration of the inexcusable deficiencies in Congress' way of organizing itself will serve to spur Congressional reform, which is overdue for a thousand additional reasons as well. But we are talking about the moving of mountains. In the meantime, the nation faces a clear and present danger, and we dare not fail to consider alternatives.

One possibility would be a Statute requiring Congress, within a specified time following the succession of a Vice President as Chief Executive or the death in office of a Vice President, to elect a new Vice President. Members of the Congress should not be disqualified as candidates, even though the risk here is that the legislature might simply paint itself back into the same seniority corner. One must assume that in the sober circumstances of such an election. Congress would be less clubby and irresponsible than when it makes Speakers and Presidents pro-tem without much thought to the Presidential succession. In any event, the man elected should resign whatever public office he might be holding, and be ineligible for any other, since, obviously, difficulties of precedence and the like would be faced if he remained, say, in the Senate or the Cabinet. Rather, he should assume the duties of Vice President. The election ought to be by Congress as a whole, and it ought not to be by the antiquated and haphazard method of voting by states, each state casting an equal single vote. Perhaps the election might be by the concurrent vote of both chambers, each voting separately, as they do when they enact legislation. And perhaps the sitting President might be given a veto, which Presidential nominees after all have in the selection of a Vice Presidential candidate.

Other suggestions are conceivable, and this solution is itself not addressed to the risk of a catastrophe that disables both President and Vice President. It is essential only that the process of selection be such as to result in a successor to the Presidency from whom the line runs, albeit indirectly, to a national constituency; otherwise he would lack adequate, self-reliant and self-starting strength to act in that most awesome of all offices. And it is essential that the selection be deliberate and have regard for the quality of the man, rather than being the kind of relatively automatic method by which Congress selects its own officers.

It is finally to be noted that the office of President is made to "devolve" on the Constitutional Vice President. As to a successor to a former Vice President, Congress is empowered only to declare that he shall "act as President . . . until the disability [of the President] be removed, or a President shall be elected." It would seem open to Congress, therefore, to provide for a special Presidential election at some time after the succession, although it is not open to the Congress to so provide in the case of the succession of a Constitutional Vice President.

## Limits of Continuity

Harry Truman also sought continuity when he came to office, and relied heavily on Franklin Roosevelt's advisers; yet continuity eluded him. History began to flow in new channels. Prosperity came more easily; the specter of depression faded. Wartime enemies became important allies; friendship with the USSR came to seem impossible. Today, change is again in the air. Problems of the domestic welfare – not identical with those of the 30's – again move to the forefront. An explanation has to be found for the recent paradox of persistent high unemployment and a low growth rate, alongside an ever-rising stock market. The press of population on overstrained public services, the squalor of cities, the rapid shift in demand from the unskilled and the farm laborer to the trained factory or service industry employee, the ravaging of the American landscape by commerce, the triviality of much mass education and mass culture – all these require study and



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new remedial efforts. Likewise, a detente of some sort between the US and USSR again becomes conceivable, and both NATO and the Sino-Soviet alliance which have so shaped US postwar diplomacy are in transition.

These are long-term problems with which President Johnson may not have to grapple immediately. But even in the short run the promise of continuity may prove illusory. The President may make use of many of the same advisers as President Kennedy did: it was Theodore Sorensen who was enlisted to help draft Mr. Johnson's first message to the Congress; McGeorge Bundy who, from the first hours of the Johnson Administration has been the President's key aide on security matters; and it is reported that Secretary Rusk moves these days with a new air of self-assurance. But on the other hand, one of the late President's lieutenants, Ralph Dungan, is no longer in his White House office. Change is inevitable. No two Presidents have the same taste in people; nor are their problems the same.

What are the critical choices that may have to be made in the next year? Domestically, the most highly charged controversy is obviously Negro rights, although in the long haul these, like so much else, are linked to the achievement of full employment. The late President and his brother recognized that the nation had to move toward multiracialism, and they accepted the necessity of federal intervention in the South to assist the process. But their attention was concentrated on the conspicuous problem: assuring equality for the Negro before the law and in his dealings with the state. This has already been largely secured in the North, and yet many Negroes see little difference between North and South. A genuine reconciliation of the races requires basic changes in private attitudes and actions. This was, of course, the area in which Vice President Johnson made a contribution through his chairmanship of the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities; and it may be here, in the winning of consent, in one community after another, that the national leadership will find its greatest future challenge.

The new President does not have at hand a program for full employment. This may not be crucial politically, in terms of 1964, for the tax cut will, if enacted, probably suffice to stave off recession for a time. Yet even the most enthusiastic sponsors of the tax cut doubt that it will increase the growth rate enough to soak up all the young people entering the job market in this decade and the next. What the new President inherits is not an employment policy but a debate. Some of his economic experts (many in the Labor Department) will tell him that the nation is afflicted with "structural unemployment": too many workers with the wrong skills or no skills at all, and too many workers in the wrong places. The cure, according to this school, is more vocational and technical training, more general education, more adult literacy programs, more money for redevelopment, subsidies to help workers move from depressed areas, a revamped US Employment Service, and so forth. Other economists (in the Council of Economic Advisers and some in the Treasury) will tell him that "structural unemployment" is largely a myth. The problem, they will say, is "insufficient demand." If only consumers had more money to spend, more people would be able to make a living providing them with goods and services. If there were enough jobs, the argument runs, most of the unemployed would in time relocate and retrain themselves.

Like his predecessor, President Johnson will probably deal with this debate by agreeing with each group and urging Congress to adopt programs both for upgrading the labor force and increasing demand.

Looking beyond the borders of the US, one cannot chart precisely what Mr. Kennedy's foreign policy actually was, or what Mr. Johnson means when he pledges continuity. The great unknown is what accommodation with the Russians is possible. In a broad sense Mr. Johnson shares Mr. Kennedy's hopes for peace and coexistence, and the new President very promptly made this clear in his message to Mr. Khrushchev. But on what terms will Mr. Johnson coexist with the Communists in Germany? In Cuba? In Vietnam? To say that he will follow in Mr. Kennedy's footsteps tells us little.

In Vietnam the United States was initially committed to defeating the Viet Cong even if this meant American casualties and long-term subsidy of an unpopular and repressive regime. That commitment has changed somewhat in recent months. The war does not appear to be going better than in the past, but troops are now slowly being withdrawn – a policy already reaffirmed by President Johnson. The way is being paved for disengagement. Disengagement has, however, been premised on the assumption that the new government in Saigon will eventually be able to survive without massive US support and a US military presence. If that premise proves wrong, what then? Nobody knows whether President Kennedy would in the end have been willing

COMING: *Louis J. Halle asks what might happen if we gave up our nuclear arsenal*



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to let the Saigon government fall to the Viet Cong, or whether he would have begun to probe the possibility of a broad neutral belt in Southeast Asia, of which South Vietnam would be a part – a proposal often advanced by Cambodia, and one that may be in General de Gaulle's mind too.

Similar uncertainties surround President Johnson's policies *vis à vis* Cuba. Present policy is based on the hope that if the hemisphere unites against Castro and harasses him economically, he will eventually be deposed. That expectation has not been given up, but it seems increasingly wishful. And if hope for a "spontaneous" change inside Cuba fades, Mr. Johnson may have to choose between overthrowing Castro (surely covertly) or *de facto* coexistence and the abatement of rancor on both sides.

The decisive arena of Soviet-American confrontation, however, is still Germany. On the question of Berlin, there is little room for give. President Johnson, like President Kennedy would fight to preserve access to Berlin, in all probability using the full range of terrible weapons at his command. But that is not likely to be demanded of him. Rather, the question is how to preserve a trusting relationship with West Germany while encouraging East-West contacts and a thaw within East Germany. The new President inherits a staff which on the one hand accepted the necessity of giving Bonn almost a veto over US policy in Germany, yet on the other hand disagreed privately with Bonn about the best military strategy for NATO and the best diplomatic strategy for eventual German reunification.

Even within the Kennedy Administration there was disagreement, for example, on whether to give first priority to a Soviet-American detente; or whether, as Adenauer so long urged, to make reunification a precondition of any relaxation of tensions. Similarly, there is a continuing debate between those who believe, with the Germans, that it is dangerous to consider the possibility of defending Western Europe without using nuclear weapons, and those who believe, with Secretary McNamara, that it might be possible and that it is essential to have "options." Mr. Johnson at some point will have to throw his weight behind one approach or the other. Or perhaps, like his predecessor, he will persist in supporting a multilateral nuclear force in Europe, which no European government really wants, believing that fundamental strategic choices can be postponed.

# Freedom of the Air

The Federal Communications Commission is under statutory mandate to see that the "public interest, convenience and necessity" are served by broadcasters. It is the FCC's duty to protect the public's right to receive, over radio and TV, a reasonable amount of reliable information, as well as entertainment that is, from time to time, above the level of most situation comedies. It is obliged also to keep the air free of obscenity and of an endless chain of commercials that leaves little time for programs.

Senator Peter Dominick (R, Colo.) a conservative freshman, believes, however, that the modest and tentative proposals of the FCC to limit the proportion of broadcasting time that a licensee may sell for paid ads is a violation of "the freedom of speech we hold so dear in this country."

The Senator is mistaken in that he confuses broadcasting with the printed press, the only kind of communication (other than word of mouth) that was known to the authors of the First Amendment. The printed media are private enterprise; they supply all their own facilities and take their own risks. Radio and TV stations are licensed custodians of limited channels of communication. In the interest of preventing the overlapping of signals, the federal government took over the electro-magnetic spectrum available for broadcasting nearly 40 years ago. Every person and corporation that now uses that spectrum uses public facilities by specific license. They are charged no rent for these frequencies; the holders of licenses to broadcast sight and sound are freeloaders. Yet by now, these frequencies are worth many billions of dollars to their lucky holders. TV stations regularly sell for very large amounts of money; their physical assets are worth relatively little compared to the value of the indispensable federal license originally given for nothing, and which cannot be rescinded save for the grossest misconduct of the licensee.

Actually, the restrictions on commercial time that have been tentatively suggested by the FCC are no more stringent than those adopted by the National Association of Broadcasters itself as a recommended guide to its member stations.

If Senator Dominick is concerned about freedom in broadcasting, he might turn his attention to the harassment of three small non-commercial FM radio stations run by the Pacifica Foundation – WBAI, New York; KBFA, Berkeley, San Francisco; and KBFK, Los Angeles. The New York station has been waiting three-and-a-half years for a decision on renewal of its license. All three are still under FCC investigation; all of them are under fire because of complaints their programs are "slanted to the Left" or because of alleged Communist association of members of the Foundation board. None of this has been proved. All that is proved is that they present sharply dissenting opinions on the air – everything from John Birchers to Communists; they even permitted a former agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to criticize J. Edgar Hoover.



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# Be Strong, Carry a Gun

Anybody who wants to regulate the sale of firearms in this country has to deal first with the National Rifle Association, an organization of 600,000 sportsmen, which has left the impression in Congress that it can produce overnight 100,000 letters in opposition to any proposed gun regulations. The NRA believes that Americans should be left, indeed encouraged, to arm themselves, both for personal protection and for such pursuits as hunting and target practice. It also feels that a basic deterrent to Communism – or other forms of subversion – is an armed populace. Nevertheless, Senator Dodd (D, Conn.) has gotten the association to go along with a bill which would make it difficult for children and criminals to buy pistols from mail-order firms. No such legislation is on the books at present. (The NRA may even back an amendment to include rifles.) Mired in the Senate Commerce Committee until November 22, the bill has suddenly come to life. One of its objectives is to cut down crimes of violence. It also would result in protecting domestic manufacturers from a dilution of their market by the mail-order companies whose products usually are inexpensive imports, cast off by European countries who have undergone weapons standardization in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

In the interests of marksmanship and national defense, the NRA and the government are partners themselves in a large mail-order business. The federal government makes available to Association members surplus supplies of .45 caliber pistols and M1 carbines at low cost. A ".45" sells for $17.50; a carbine fetches $20. The government at the moment is selling 150,000 carbines. All one need do to take advantage of this opportunity is to become a member of the NRA which requires that you be recommended by another member or some well-known and reputable citizen, payment of $5, a statement that you are over 18 and have not been convicted of a major crime. This information is accepted at face value.

Just how the NRA expects its members to handle their weapons is indicated in one statement to its membership arguing against gun regulation: One is forever being told, "'You don't need to protect yourself, that's the job for the police.'

"What kind of talk is this for America? Are we becoming a nation of defeatists; devoid of personal pride and content to rely entirely on our police for protection? Are we ready to deny to ourselves and to our children their American heritage – the right of personal protection and the pleasure of shooting and hunting for recreation?

"The truth, of course, is that it is not so.

"Certainly guns are used for criminal purposes – some sort of weapon always has been – but anyone knows that boys have played with toy guns, swords, spears or what-have-you ever since the world began. In spite of over-emphasis on 'juvenile delinquency' we have today more and better youngsters than ever before. Certainly, circumstances alter cases and there are times when a prudent man does not attempt to 'outdraw' a determined criminal. But many competent police officers agree that fewer crimes of violence would take place *if more honest citizens had guns and knew how to use them.*"

*"Hey, Joey, look what I sent for . . . Joey?"*

# King Subsidy

The House has compounded the boll-weevil-like evils of the cotton program by voting a subsidy for domestic textile mills – this to be added to the subsidies already provided for foreign mills and, of course, for US cotton farmers. All have been voted in the name of helping the small Southeastern cotton farmer, who despite the subsidies remains about as poor as he has always been.

The disappointing and costly experience with cotton shows the impracticality of trying to use farm price supports as a welfare stipend. Cotton price supports



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are at the unreasonably high level of 32½ cents a pound because Southern Members of Congress have insisted that supports be set at a level that would take care of the small farmers who are their constituents. These farmers raise an average of 350 pounds of cotton to the acre. In the West and Southwest, efficient producers using modern machines can grow more than three times that amount on an irrigated acre made more fertile by the injection of ammonia gas. They can profitably sell their cotton at a price one-third below the 32½-cent figure.

The high support level all but froze American cotton out of the export market in the early 1950's. Today, half the domestic cotton is exported. That is because in 1955 Congress approved a new subsidy which would make it possible for American cotton to be sold abroad at the world market price, which is now 24 cents a pound. This subsidy is paid to cotton brokers, but the benefits go to foreign mills. What this new House bill means is that the domestic textile industry, which supported the foreign subsidy program, is within reach of getting the same kind of subsidy for its own mills, at a cost of at least $283 million a year, which when piled on the existing subsidies brings the annual federal cost of the cotton program to $750 million.

The Senate, however, may not go along. There is growing sentiment for legislation being pushed by Senator Talmadge (D, Ga.) to pay farmers the difference between what cotton brings in a free market and what Congress considers a fair price. This is essentially the plan, with which Secretary Freeman is sympathetic, that was proposed in 1949 by Charles F. Brannan when he was Secretary of Agriculture under Harry Truman.

The direct-payment approach is sensible – at least for that transition period during which efforts are made to help the less efficient farmer get out of cotton and into something else. It would keep low the prices mills would have to pay for cotton while assuring farmers a fair return. It would get the government out of the cotton-storage-and-brokerage business, as well as out of a triple-subsidy program.

# Slow-Down Smith

As a Congressman, Mr. Johnson learned very early to treat with care the antique furniture of the House, of which Judge Howard Worth Smith, chairman of the Rules Committee, is an especially charming piece – a stopped grandfather clock, the more valuable, by Congressional aesthetic standards, for being so useless.

But, as President, Mr. Johnson seems to have begun shaking and bumping Judge Smith with an urge to torture those ancient works into operation that appears entirely disdainful of the Judge's frame and polish.

The Judiciary Committee's Civil Rights Bill needs the approval of the Rules Committee before it can reach the floor of the House for debate and passage. Judge Smith is a gentle Virginian who would certainly have manumitted his slaves if there had never been an Emancipation Proclamation but is not otherwise disposed to see matters proceed further. The Rules Committee is the only body in the House which has no regular meeting date and is traditionally subject to call only at the pleasure of its chairman. Judge Smith began the second full week of the Johnson Administration by announcing that he could not say with assurance when he could call the committee on the Civil Rights Bill; he later allowed there might be hearings "reasonably soon in January" – and lasting no longer than indefinitely.

In the end, the Republicans on Rules would give the bill the votes it needs for clearance. But in the meanwhile Rep. Clarence Brown of Ohio, their doyen who cherishes Judge Smith for his person and his past services, could be trusted to respect the chairman's policy of deliberation. Judge Smith was in no hurry and aimed to keep the clock stopped at least until March, so that the bill would not come to the Senate until April. Then Senator Russell could mount his resistance with the confidence that, depleted and weary though the South may be, there would only be a short time to hold out before the conventions dictated adjournment.

Then Congressman Bolling of Missouri, a Rules Committee Democrat, announced that he and Chairman Celler of Judiciary would lay before the House a petition to discharge the bill from Judge Smith's custody. A discharge petition needs the signature of 218 Congressmen; under ideal conditions, it could be signed and the bill brought up for debate by December 23. But a discharge petition never seems ideal to Congressmen who are, in the majority, members of the Society for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities and understand that a discharge petition which rescues a bill they want from Judge Smith's clutches could produce a precedent which some day might let loose from the Rules Committee a bill which they very much don't want but have to say they do. When Bolling announced his discharge petition, Speaker McCormack extended one of those left-handed blessings which indicated approval without his personal signature.

Bolling, on his own, could hope for 150 Democratic signatures; the Republicans, if their leadership hung neutral, might produce 60. Then Congressman McCulloch, the Republican who is the Civil Rights Bill's true author, declared that, as a former speaker of the Ohio House, he would be violating his parliamentary principles if he signed anything so irregular as a discharge petition. Charles Halleck, Minority Leader of the House, echoed those sentiments; the Republican



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Party prospect thereupon dwindled to no more than 30 signatures.

But then Speaker McCormack returned from a conference at the White House to announce that he would sign the discharge petition. Mr. Johnson seemed plainly to have put his weight behind Bolling; there were reports that the White House's Larry O'Brien had been instructed to display what muscle the Executive Branch can employ.

Bolling could hardly have begun expecting to change the habits of Congress and get a bill discharged from Rules by petition. His tactic had been to gather enough signatures to unsettle Judge Smith and force him to compromise earlier than he had been resigned to. But now, if President Johnson really meant his apparent commitment to force, Bolling could be almost sure of 160 Democrats and there would begin Republican defections which could bring the petition dangerously close to 218 signatures. Bolling's gun had seemed symbolic when it was lifted early in the week; by the middle there was a real chance that it might go off.

Still it seems unlikely that Johnson, for all the dispatch with which he had acted, could be quite this insensitive to the teachings of his youth in a Congress to which Judge Smith's prerogatives had so long been consequential. The Judge would still then have to be considered. But he was being painfully jostled on the way to the train.

It was reported that Clarence Brown had suggested to Bolling that, between them, they offer the Judge a schedule of hearings to wind up with the bill reported to the floor by January 30. The clout in this case would be the threat that Brown, Bolling and six other Rules Committee members might join in serving upon the chairman a demand that he call a meeting of Rules to consider the Civil Rights Bill. This device, procedurally proper though it is, would be an affront to Judge Smith's traditional authority almost as unthinkable as discharge by petition and almost as dangerous a precedent for putting the Rules Committee under the control of its members rather than its chairman. Under such peril, Judge Smith would certainly be glad to accept even a January 30th deadline; his trouble was that, by intervening as he had, Mr. Johnson had created a situation where January 30th, which Bolling's group might have been glad to accept a few days ago, now had become an unnecessarily distant target date.

The old Judge would then be deserted, and outnumbered; he could preserve the show of his power and the face of his dignity only by accepting a compromise early in January; the alternative was to face loss of the bill to a petition of the House or loss of control of his committee to its members. Both of these defeats would be single and temporary; still the memory of either would be terribly damaging to Judge Smith's ancient spell. But the conditions would seem still to dictate some small deference to his feelings; the Civil Rights Bill is more likely to come to the House by consent of Judge Smith as chairman of the Rules Committee than to be discharged by petition and thus it probably will not be passed before February. But the real burden of resistance has now been laid upon the Senate Southerners, and the bill's chance of passage by this Congress is immeasurably improved. A former Congressman Johnson this tough on the Rules Committee is unlikely to be a former Senator Johnson undisposed to push for cloture in the Senate.

Mr. Johnson then would appear on this performance to have begun by remembering most of the devices and wiping from his mind most of the traditions he learned as a Congressional Democrat. As a Presidential Democrat, he promises to be a peculiarly formidable enemy for some dear old friends left behind.

MURRAY KEMPTON

## FOREIGN REPORTS

### VENEZUELA: *Betancourt's Weave*

★ It does not seem likely that President Johnson will want to precipitate an encounter right now with the Soviet Union by taking up Mr. Betancourt's demands for a blockade of Cuba. The Johnson Administration is young and anxious to find its own firm footing, and in any case, this is a rash instance to choose since the particular source of Betancourt's ire is a cache of small arms found buried on a desolate stretch of Venezuelan beach. Betancourt says it came from Cuba and was destined for the 600 Communist terrorists who are forever shooting up Caracas. Castro denies the arms came from him and even holds out some possibility of cooperating with a team of OAS investigators dispatched to look into the business of alleged arms shipments from Cuba to Venezuela.

Betancourt's task is complex. He must placate the Army generals who are calling for severe action against terrorists who kill their men. Betancourt has a history of playing a game of dodge and weave with the Army – being just tough enough to keep it from putting over a *coup* and just easy enough to keep liberal civilian elements from turning further to the Left. The dexterity is not inherited by Mr. Leoni, his successor, and the chance of a *coup* during Mr. Leoni's first year in office cannot be minimized. John F. Kennedy in his last major speech on the Alliance for Progress – a few days before his death – pledged the US to come to the aid of any country whose government was threatened by a take-



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over whose elements were aligned to foreign Communism. If the OAS establishes that the weapons found on the beach were in fact of Cuban origin, the case for OAS intervention – with, of course, US participation – in Venezuela will have a solid foundation. Such a prospect would appease, even please the Venezuelan armed forces, and perhaps deter the Castroite insurrectionists for a time.

This would give Leoni some time to establish himself. His coalition government may have easier going than Betancourt's in any event, if only because Betancourt banned the Communists from politics, therefore ensuring that the Venezuelan Congress will be free of those members who were so obstreperous in the past. Relieved of their presence, the Congress may be able to move ahead with administrative streamlining and the institution of a new criminal code.

KENYA: *Independence*

★ Kenya will become the 35th independent African state on December 12. Tribal enmity is still great; even more divisive is the lack of party discipline common to both the governing National Union (KANU) and the opposition Democratic Union (KADU). Headed by Mr. Kenyatta, the Prime Minister, KANU is centralist; KADU, led by Mr. Ngala, fights hard for local government and threatens secession unless it gets its way. There may be intertribal violence, arson, rustling and white-baiting in certain bush areas – particularly the Rift Valley, the Kinangop and the Aberdares where there are large sedentary migrant populations of Kikuyu, the country's largest and most aggressive ethnic group.

Increasing tension is apparent on the Somali frontier where Kenyan Somalis desire integration of their poor, sandy pastures with Somalia, which wants them. So far Kenya is adamant about not giving up the stretch of desert and semi-desert, but if Somalia were willing to pay for the land, an agreement might be worked out. Meanwhile, Somalia radio continues to threaten imminent war in this Northern frontier district, and Kenyan troops are engaged sporadically in ambush raids.

It is widely thought that Prime Minister Kenyatta will resort to authoritarian means to deal with these problems. Should there be any wide-scale violence in the bush, Kenya's two major industries – tourism and farming – would be hurt. Internal strife would further unsettle the white community of some 60,000, which has stuck by Kenya throughout and is particularly important at the present time as a lure for foreign investment. The new nation needs new forms of economic activity since her prime commodity exports, including coffee, are declining in price.

There has been a prolonged discussion of the current constitution. Partly to appease KADU, it is riddled with clauses about minority tribal and ethnic rights which need almost unanimous action by the legislature to change. However, this document will go out of existence in about a year's time when Kenya becomes a republic instead of – as Britain insists for the time being – a Canada-like dominion ruled in theory by Queen Elizabeth of Kenya.

Economic union between Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, linked as are the 14 French-speaking states of the Afro-Malagasy Union – but also including a common market with uniform custom tariffs – will be inherited from the British administration. There had been talk of topping this structure with a political federal system, but the idea began to look more and more like the Central African Federation, with Kenya in the favored role of Southern Rhodesia, so it has been shelved.

ASIA: *Change in the White House*

★ Peking, carrying on as usual its bitter polemic with Moscow, offers the most simplistic interpretation of the changeover in the White House: "There's no difference" – this in essence was the purport of the biographical commentary in the official *Peoples Daily* on November 24. Both men were millionaires; both faced a world in which "an East wind was prevailing over a West wind"; both were desperately trying to prevent the inevitable triumph of Communism.

Hanoi, capital of Communist North Vietnam, has noted that Lyndon Johnson proposes to continue his predecessor's policies of military and economic aid to South Vietnam in its fight against Communist guerrillas. And carrying the ball for Peking, Hanoi scoffs at "revisionists [Khrushchev] who expressed sorrow at the loss of the bellicose ringleader of imperialism."

Non-Communist capitals, however, do sense a difference between Kennedy and Johnson and their hopes and fears are conditioned by the degree of difference they think they see.

In Tokyo, where Kennedy's attempts to achieve a *detente* with Moscow were most popular, there is concern that Johnson may show less willingness to try new approaches on the obstacle-strewn path of peaceful coexistence. Kennedy himself, Tokyo commentators say, expected to defer major efforts along this line till after winning a second term next year. Can Johnson commit the prestige of the American Presidency to opening up new coexistence avenues when he has so many domestic tasks clamoring for attention in an election year?

In Taipei, conversely, there is a feeling that Johnson



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may be more sympathetic to Chinese Nationalist pretensions than his predecessor. This feeling may be mistaken, but it arises from Johnson's 1961 trip to the Far East and on around the world, during which he visited Taiwan, South Vietnam, the Philippines and Thailand in an effort to convince these allies they weren't being abandoned, despite Washington receptivity to neutrality for Laos and other thaw-promoting projects. Johnson, it appears, succeeded only too well. In Taiwan he praised the aging Generalissimo to the skies and in South Vietnam he compared Ngo Dinh Diem to Winston Churchill. These extravagances were understandable, given the nature of Johnson's mission, but they helped to form the Far East's only personal impression of the Vice President who now has a very different role to play as leader of the entire Western alliance.

## REVOLUTION IN IRAQ AND THE FUTURE OF BA'ATH SOCIALISM

# Arab Against Arab

*Beirut*

The crude fact to emerge from the high intrigue in Iraq last month is that the Ba'ath Socialist Party has been overthrown by an Army *junta* – conservative, consciously Muslim and nationalist in temper. To call it a right-wing *coup* is an oversimplification but there is no doubt that moderate, traditional forces have reasserted themselves to stem the headlong "progressive" current of the past year.

President Aref's new regime has pledged its fidelity to the stillborn April 17 charter whereby Egypt, Iraq and Syria agreed to federate; but this may safely be dismissed as a routine profession of faith in Arab unity which has little immediate relevance. The *coup* in Baghdad on November 18 shattered the dream of a bilateral Syrian-Iraqi union under Ba'athist direction. It has not eased the way for any new form of union.

The present state of play in the Arab world is that Ba'athist Syria and Nasserist Egypt remain at daggers drawn and will stop at nothing to destroy each other; no accommodation short of the downfall of one or other regime is for the moment possible. Baghdad, freed from Ba'ath control, is now poised uneasily between the two. President Aref and his *junta* are aware that their best chance of survival lies in maintaining this equilibrium. If they tilt the balance in Cairo's favor by undue hostility toward Syria, this might allow Nasser to overthrow the Ba'athists there. Iraq would then have to face alone a powerful Syrian-Egyptian combination. The Iraqi officers also realize that they need the Ba'ath at home to keep the Communists in check. The exigencies of this intricate trapeze act – both internal and external – explain the presence of a number of Ba'athists in Aref's cabinet and the tolerably friendly relations which he hopes to maintain with Damascus.

Needless to say, the Syrian Ba'athists need Iraq's friendship as much and more. They are putting a brave face on their setback in Iraq and, by conciliatory gestures toward Aref, are desperately attempting to salvage what they can from the ruins of their once dominant position there. Any ganging up of Baghdad and Cairo could be fatal to them.

President Nasser has already drawn handsome dividends from the upheaval in Iraq. His policy objectives may at this stage be summed up as follows: (1) to destroy the Ba'ath, still his main Arab rival; (2) to prevent at all costs a union of Syria and Iraq – this is a constant of Egyptian policy which since the Middle Ages has opposed the rise of a power in Arab Asia strong enough to threaten her security or outweigh her influence in the Eastern Mediterranean; (3) to recover control of Syria – the linchpin of the Middle East power system. As may now be seen, the first part of this program is already well under way, due largely to the Ba'ath's own folly.

The change of regime in Iraq may be said to have been precipitated by two related schisms: the first between the Army and the Ba'ath which brought General Kassem down last February; the second, within the ranks of the Ba'ath Party itself.

The Army's quarrel with the party came to focus on the existence of the Ba'athist paramilitary National Guard. A regular force could not easily tolerate an irregular militia throwing its weight about and generally encroaching on preserves the Army thought its own. More politically conscious than either the Army or the police, the National Guard had played a valuable role in the early days of the February revolution, rooting out and crushing Communist paramilitary forces. But with a return to more normal conditions, its arbitrary strong-arm methods gave offense. Conceived as a high-minded instrument of Ba'athist revolution, it seemed too often like a gang of paid thugs. Opinion veered



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against it, allowing the Army to take over relatively easily on November 18. Little more than 100 people were killed in skirmishes throughout Baghdad.

The *coup* has been presented – by its authors themselves – as a corrective to the lawless excesses of the National Guard. But it had other causes. By striking at the Guard, the officers were also expressing their hostility to the "Marxist" program of social and economic change planned by the Iraqi Ba'ath Party boss, Ali Salih al-Saadi.

The crisis in Iraq broke, in fact, on November 11 when a group of 23 officers burst in on a meeting of the Iraqi Ba'ath Party leadership and, in collusion with "moderate" elements in that leadership, notably Foreign Minister Talib Shabib, seized Saadi and bundled him unceremoniously on to a plane for Madrid. When the news of Saadi's deportation became generally known in Baghdad on November 13, the explosion of anger among the National Guard and party rank and file forced Premier General Baqr to expel the "moderate" Ba'ath leaders in turn. Talib Shabib and his friends thereupon left the country for Beirut.

With most of its top leaders in exile, the Iraqi Ba'ath Party then called on the party founder and secretary-general – Syrian Christian, Michel Aflaq – and on other members of the party's International Command – the top authority in the movement – to come to Baghdad and help resolve the crisis. On arrival, these men declared that they would themselves assume the government of Iraq until fresh elections were held for a regional Iraqi Ba'ath leadership within four months. But this wholly unrealistic solution, offending Iraqi national sentiment, Muslim opinion and the Army's self-respect, was immediately contested by the officers who then stepped in, seizing power on November 18.

### *"Love Before Everything Else"*

The divergence between "Marxists" and "moderates" which destroyed the Ba'ath and allowed the Army to intervene needs further explanation. It is of crucial importance for the future not only of the Ba'ath movement but of the whole Arab world. It is only in the last five years, since 1958, that the Ba'ath has come to have a genuinely Marxist wing preaching "scientific socialism" on the Soviet model. The party founders, Michel Aflaq and Salah al-Din Bitar, learned their socialism when students at the Sorbonne in the very early 'thirties. They were then influenced by Marxism, it is true, but it was of a romantic, undogmatic variety. Their heroes were André Gide and Romain Rolland for whom Communism was little more than a metaphysical cure which would end war and exploitation. By the late 'thirties they were, in any event, thoroughly disillusioned by Communism and were building up their movement in Syria as its major rival.

When Aflaq first enunciated his three slogans of "unity," "freedom" and "socialism" in the early 'forties, he put socialism last. He had a somewhat utopian belief in the regenerative powers of nationalism: he preached that only when the Arabs loved one another, their nation and their soil with an absolute unquestioning love would they find salvation and would their weaknesses and difficulties fall away from them. "Nationalism," he declared in a famous passage, "is love before everything else." He held, perhaps naïvely, that political unity was a creative force which would of itself inspire a form of socialism best suited to Arab conditions. When it came to translate his vision into practical terms, he thought of land reform and welfare legislation. He believed – and still believes – in the sanctity of private property and does not accept the theory of class struggle.

These views first came under sharp attack within the party in 1958-59 from a group of young men who had studied at Cairo University where they had been greatly influenced by Egyptian Marxists and by exiled Algerian leaders then engaged in the struggle against France. The lamentable experience of the Syrian-Egyptian union and the dissolution of the Ba'ath, which then took place, allowed these men to claim with justice that, far from ushering in the Arab millenium, the Ba'ath had by uniting with Nasser committed political suicide and opened the door to dictatorship. Nasser's own paternalistic experiment in large-scale "state capitalism" incited them to go one better and press for a genuinely proletarian Marxist revolution. In this, their point of view became indistinguishable from that of the Communists. They therefore tried to shift the party away from its traditional accent on Arab unity toward a program of militant socialism, on the argument that only when the Ba'ath was strong enough to seize power in each Arab country and to carry through an internal social and economic revolution would unity be possible between the different Arab states.

Michel Aflaq first tried to cooperate with the Marxists, but he soon sensed that they threatened the very nature of the movement. He then managed to rally the party to his traditional viewpoint at the Fifth International Congress held clandestinely in Syria in August, 1961, and the "Marxist" ringleaders resigned. But they had left a permanent mark on the party's rank and file throughout the Arab world to whom Aflaq's hazy, if noble, rhetoric seemed increasingly unsatisfactory.

A notable convert to the "Marxist" line was the Iraqi party boss Ali Salih al-Saadi, a tough, rough-hewn character who was principally responsible for building up the party's underground organization under the noses of Kassem's secret police in 1961-62. But to overthrow Kassem, Saadi needed the help of nationalist



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Army officers who were opposed to Communism – as indeed to any type of extreme socialism – and who wanted to end Iraq's isolation from the rest of the Arab world. Saadi was therefore forced to play down his own socialist views and his hostility to Nasser's regime. But these emerged after the Ba'ath seizure of power with Army support on February 8 this year and led to increasing friction within the coalition. Saadi's threats to nationalize foreign trade, to create agricultural "collectives" and to impose penal sanctions on Iraq's small but influential business and industrial class caused widespread gloom. In the event, his violence of speech and manner contributed as much to his downfall as his domestic program or the activities of his National Guard.

Saadi is now exiled in Switzerland, where he is no doubt planning a comeback. The National Guard is disbanded and disarmed. Iraq is under cautious Army rule. But the self-destructive debate continues in the party between those who shout often ill-digested Marxist slogans and those, faithful to Aflaq's original vision, who place themselves in a tradition of democratic socialism. Trapped between Nasser and the Communists, both of whom preach and practice extreme and remarkably similar social and economic policies, the Ba'ath will find it difficult to hold to a moderate course. The dilemma now facing the Ba'ath leaders in Syria – birthplace and last stronghold of the party – is more mundane: how to come to terms both with the conservative officers in Iraq and with their own inflamed rank and file at home; and incidentally, how to govern Syria.

PATRICK SEALE

# De Gaulle and Franco

## *Reconciliation of the Generals*

A rapprochment between General de Gaulle and General Franco which began to take shape in the autumn of 1961 is soon to strengthen markedly. Until late 1961 the Spanish government was granting asylum to leaders of the desperately anti-de Gaulle OAS, while the French government was not seriously harassing anti-Franco refugees on French soil. But in 1962, the raid of "El Campesino" on the French-Spanish border provided an excuse for de Gaulle to satisfy both Franco's desire to crack down on Spaniards in France and de Gaulle's own, probably greater, eagerness to contain his mortal enemies then enjoying Spanish hospitality; a deal was made by which the opponents of both regimes would be neutralized – a deal symbolized by the cordial reception in Paris of Spanish Foreign Minister Castiella.

Thereafter, the flow of French tourists to Spain became a torrent. At the same time Spanish workers, particularly the skilled, expatriated themselves in greater numbers to France and to the rest of Western Europe.

Another big step in the rapprochement between the two generals was taken after de Gaulle had slammed the door of Europe in Britain's face, and when Franco, who a year before had asked for Spanish association with the European Economic Community, formally called upon Washington for better terms for renewal of the Spanish-American agreements of 1953.

The initiative came from de Gaulle.

In January of this year, Roger Frey, the French Minister of the Interior, along with General Charles Ailleret, the French Chief of Staff, visited Spain and had talks which led to the extension of so-called mutual security arrangements against internal political opponents, and to agreements for some military cooperation. Tips from the French helped lead the Spaniards to Joaquin Delgado and Francisco Granados, Spanish anarchists living in exile in France, who crossed the Spanish border, were caught by the Spaniards and accused of having carried out two bombings. They were picked up only two days after the explosions, convicted in secret by a military court, and garroted in Carabanchel prison. Garroting is a medieval form of Spanish execution – strangulation by an iron collar fixed to a post and tightened slowly by a screw – which, apparently, does not seem at variance with the current Spanish leitmotif of modernization.

Similarly, "cooperation" led to the arrest of three young Frenchmen and their condemnation to long terms in Spanish jails – 24-year-old Alain Pecunia was sentenced to 24 years. And more than 50 presumably anti-Franco exiles were arrested on September 11 in Paris, Avignon, Grenoble, Lyons, Perpignan and Toulouse, all on the basis of the Spanish accusations.

At about the same time a number of influential Spaniards, including former Foreign Minister Martin Artajo,



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who had been considered a staunch monarchist, began to suggest that perhaps a Presidential state and government of the Gaullist type might be better for Spain after Franco's death than a monarchy. After all Gaullist France was monarchist in all but name, they said. Moreover the French Chief of State in the system he had created had surrounded himself with younger men, with non-political (except for their Gaullism) experts, technicians, civil servants, whereas in Spain the leading monarchists were almost all older men. Don Juan, the old pretender, was said even by many monarchists to have little courage – probably the worst insult – and his son, Don Juan Carlos, was said to have little intelligence (except that borrowed from his wife, the daughter of the brilliant Frederika of Greece).

The Law of Succession, which declares Spain a monarchy without a king and provides that on Franco's death he be succeeded by a person of royal blood, had been adopted by the *Cortes* and ratified by popular referendum in the different, distant and difficult days of 1947. Spain's road back to the community of nations had subsequently been opened, not by monarchies but by the United States. Salazar of Portugal and Peron of Argentina had helped Franco in his time of troubles, but it was the US Congress which broke the circle of isolation around Franco by voting him a loan, before the UN lifted its ban in late 1950; only a half year later, there began the negotiations which led to the crucial Spanish-American agreements of 1953.

Despite the insistence in the Spanish press (and even in a letter from Ambassador Garrigues to the *New York Times*) that the renewal this year of those agreements was on terms favorable to Spain and hence a triumph, official Madrid is not entirely happy, and friendliness toward America and Americans is not at its height. The French connection, however, is a source of great satisfaction. Not only the Spanish state but a large number of Spaniards have profited from the visits of French tourists; in some areas this year, they have accounted for well over three-quarters of all foreign visitors. To facilitate the lucrative flow, roads from Northern Spain to France are being improved.

A loan to Franco, discussed by the French Finance Minister last spring, committing the French government, the Bank of France, French commercial bankers and big businessmen to direct participation in Spain's official industrial development program, was signed recently, on November 25, in Paris. The total sum involved is $153 million as compared with the $100 million which the Export-Import Bank (not directly the US government) was to lend Spain over the course of a number of years, under terms outlined in the renewed Spanish-American agreements.

Whereas the old Spanish monarchists were in many cases educated in England, or influenced by English customs and values, and the men of middle years may have attended German schools and universities, the younger intellectuals and technocrats in Spain, especially the *Opus Dei* men who are so important in banking, finance and industry, are attracted by French planning and thinking. Franco's new four-year economic development plan, the first of a series to go into effect at the start of 1964, uses the methods of Paris rather than those of New York; the spokesmen for the Spanish system profess to be as far as humanly possible from anything Communist or Marxist, but the absence of total planning and controls in the American system makes them look to the French Gaullist experience.

In culture, France has always had much to offer to Spaniards, and the Americans practically nothing; under André Malraux the influence has made the efforts of USIA insignificant. But what is new, particularly during the last two years, is the success among Spaniards of French ideas in technology and science, especially nuclear. Few Spaniards, among the official and ruling circles, see their country as a nuclear power, but they do regard a link with Gaullist France as a chance to move toward regaining some of the national prestige which their country has wholly lacked since the loss of the Empire more than a century and a half ago.

The Spanish government had wanted US help to get into NATO; de Gaulle's unhospitable attitude toward that organization, however, may now make Spain revert to its viewpoint of several years ago, when Franco said his country did not need or want NATO membership. The EEC is another matter; it is to be expected that de Gaulle soon will do precisely that which the US refused to do – he will call upon the members to give serious and favorable consideration to the Spanish government's application for association. Whether he succeeds or not, he will do everything possible to bring Spain closer to *his Europe* – that which stretches from the Pyrenees to the Urals – if only to use Spain to help bring that Europe into being.

The next most important step in the rapprochement of the two generals – and probably forthcoming within a matter of months – will be taken in Spain. A series of revisions of drafts of a new constitutional Law of Succession, to replace the one of 1947, has been considered. The new law will discard the concept of Spain as a monarchy and replace it by a Gaullist Presidential pattern, with modifications considered suitable for Spanish tradition, law and temperament. Naturally, the law will be approved by the docile *Cortes*. It is almost certain also to be ratified by a popular referendum (probably without need of pressure or fraud) in time to make the change in Spain and in Gaullist Europe an element in the US election campaign of 1964, and in the new look of the Cold War.

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT



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# Unofficial Envoy

## *An Historic Report from Two Capitals*

*by Jean Daniel*

*A recent trip to the United States, followed by a journey to Cuba, made it possible for me to establish a "dialogue" between the late President Kennedy and Prime Minister Fidel Castro. Since my arrival in Mexico, where this article is being written, I have been asked whether the impressions I derived from these interviews could shed any light on the assassination of the President and on future relations between Lyndon B. Johnson and Castro.*

*Last week in these pages I answered the first question by describing the reactions of Fidel Castro, with whom I was visiting at the time, to John Kennedy's death. Here I shall explore the second question by reconstituting the Kennedy-Castro dialogue from the viewpoint of one who was a witness to it.*

THE AUTHOR

President Kennedy received me at the White House on Thursday, October 24. My appointment had been scheduled for 5:30. I waited in the Cabinet Conference Room, and at 5:45 the President, following his usual custom, came to look for me himself so that he could escort me into his office. He apologized for the delay, not so much as a courtesy or to flatter me, but to explain the scheduling of his time, which seemed to be very strictly organized. As we passed through the small room where his secretary was working, we caught a glimpse of Mrs. Kennedy leaving by a French window on her way to the private garden of the White House. The President called her back to introduce me.

It was still Indian summer in Washington. The weather was very warm, and both the President and Mrs. Kennedy were very lightly dressed, thus enhancing the impression of youth, charm, and simplicity which was in rather surprising contrast to the solemnity of entering these august chambers. The President (athletic looking in his well-tailored suit, speaking with quick, abrupt gestures and a mobile expression but, at times, freezing up and becoming disconcertingly, almost, I would say, completely expressionless) invited me to be seated on the semi-circular sofa which was in the middle of his office. He sat in a rocking chair opposite the sofa. The interview was to last from 20 to 25 minutes, and it was interrupted only by a brief telephone call.

The President immediately asked me how the French situation was developing. After my reply, he spoke about General de Gaulle. He talked in a relaxed fashion, like someone who has at last found solace in indifference after having long been exasperated and fascinated. John Kennedy was a man who liked to get to the heart of a matter quickly, and make decisions even more rapidly. But this was not possible in dealing with de Gaulle, who is more difficult to handle than Khrushchev. One day, impatient at not understanding the General's reasoning and intent upon convincing him, Kennedy telephoned de Gaulle direct. All in vain. Oddly enough, however, since the recent visit of de Gaulle's foreign minister, Couve de Murville, to Washington Mr. Kennedy had ceased to be so deeply concerned about Franco-American relations. The truth is, he had *made up his mind* not to worry about them any more. According to him, it was a waste of time.

"Mr. Couve de Murville and I both verified that we didn't agree on anything," the President told me. "And we agreed that such total disagreement was hardly calculated to create a flourishing friendship between two great Western nations. I came to the conclusion that General de Gaulle's strategy, which is rather incomprehensible to me, requires a certain amount of tension with the United States. It would seem that only through this tension is it possible to restore to Europe the desire to think for itself and renounce its torpid dependence on American dollar aid and political guidance!"

President Kennedy went on to sum up, with conciseness and vigor, the points of disagreement between the United States and France. On the subject of Germany, nuclear policy, Europe, the idea of "independence," he told me what has since become public



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knowledge. He added, however, that France had a strange way of manifesting its independence, particularly, for example, on the subject of Vietnam and Cuba. It seemed ironic and irritating to him that the French Chief Executive was apparently bent on telling him how the United States should proceed, without assuming any risks himself. He told me that no one was more appreciative than he of advice, information, and even criticism; but that these were all the more valued if the friends proffering them were themselves committed to a program of action.

I then asked Mr. Kennedy what could be expected from General de Gaulle's proposed visit to the United States next February. He replied: "Absolutely nothing." But he followed this up immediately and with a broad grin, as though savoring in advance the pleasure of the impending meeting: "It will be exciting, just the same. General de Gaulle is an historic figure; he is decidely the strangest great man of our time."

*Relations with Cuba*

Taking the initiative at this point, I brought up the subject of Vietnam and Cuba, saying that the Gaullists were not the only ones in France who deplored certain mistaken US policies. I pointed out that the first time I had the opportunity of meeting John Kennedy, he was a Senator and had just made a resounding speech on the subject of Algeria. Had the ideas set forth in that speech been faithfully applied in Saigon and Havana? Here my notes are very specific, and I shall let the late President speak through them:

"We haven't enough time to talk about Vietnam, but I'd like to talk to you about Cuba. Incidentally, our conversation will be much more interesting when you return, because Ben Bradlee [of *Newsweek*] tells me you are on your way to Cuba now.

"Every now and then I read articles in the European press pointing out that we Americans were blind to what was happening in the Cuban situation. I have just learned that General de Gaulle himself regarded Communism in Cuba as nothing but the accidental and temporary form of a will to independence from the United States. Of course it is very easy to understand this 'will to independence' around President de Gaulle."

John Kennedy then mustered all his persuasive force. He punctuated each sentence with that brief, mechanical gesture which had become famous:

"I tell you this: we know perfectly what happened in Cuba, to the misfortune of all. From the beginning I personally followed the development of these events with mounting concern. There are few subjects to which I have devoted more painstaking attention. My conclusions go much further than the European analyses. Here is what I believe.

"I believe that there is no country in the world, including all the African regions, including any and all the countries under colonial domination, where economic colonization, humiliation and exploitation were worse than in Cuba, in part owing to my country's policies during the Batista regime. I believe that we created, built and manufactured the Castro movement out of whole cloth and without realizing it. I believe that the accumulation of these mistakes has jeopardized all of Latin America. The great aim of the Alliance for Progress is to reverse this unfortunate policy. This is one of the most, if not *the most*, important problems in American foreign policy. I can assure you that I have understood the Cubans. I approved the proclamation which Fidel Castro made in the Sierra Maestra, when he justifiably called for justice and especially yearned to rid Cuba of corruption. I will go even further: to some extent it is as though Batista was the incarnation of a number of sins on the part of the United States. Now we shall have to pay for those sins. In the matter of the Batista regime, I am in agreement with the first Cuban revolutionaries. That is perfectly clear."

After a silence during which he was able to note my surprise and my interest, the President continued: "But it is also clear that the problem has ceased to be a Cuban one, and has become international – that is, it has become a Soviet problem. I am the President of the United States and not a sociologist; I am the President of a free nation which has certain responsibilities in the Free World. I know that Castro betrayed the promises made in the Sierra Maestra, and that he has agreed to be a Soviet agent in Latin America. I know that through his fault – either his 'will to independence', his madness or Communism – the world was on the verge of nuclear war in October, 1962. The Russians understood this very well, at least after our reaction; but so far as Fidel Castro is concerned, I must say I don't know whether he realizes this, or even if he cares about it." A smile, then: "You can tell me whether he does when you come back. In any case, the nations of Latin America are not going to attain justice and progress that way, I mean through Communist subversion. They won't get there by going from economic oppression to a Marxist dictatorship which Castro himself denounced a few years ago. The United States now has the possibility of doing as much good in Latin America as it has done wrong in the past; I would even say that we alone have this power – on the essential condition that Communism does not take over there."

Mr. Kennedy then rose to indicate that the interview was over. I apologized for keeping him to ask two quick questions. The first: Could the United States tolerate economic collectivism? He answered: "What about Sekou Touré? And Tito? I received Marshal Tito three days ago, and our discussions were most posi-



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tive." Second question: What does the American government expect to gain from the blockade? Is the economic isolation of Cuba a punishment or a political maneuver?

Kennedy's reply: "Are you suggesting that the political effectiveness of the blockade is uncertain [smile]? You will see when you go to Cuba whether it is or not. In any case, we can't let Communist subversion win in the other Latin American countries. Two dikes are needed to contain Soviet expansion: the blockade on the one hand, a tremendous effort toward progress on the other. This is the problem in a nutshell. Both battles are equally difficult." (Silence.) Then, a last comment: "The continuation of the blockade depends on the continuation of subversive activities."

The interview was over. I did not really wish to suggest anything, since I had never been to Cuba and, on the other hand, I had heard from all sides tales of the privations the Cuban people were suffering owing to their isolated economic situation. But I could see plainly that John Kennedy had doubts, and was seeking a way out.

That same evening I recounted this conversation in detail to an American colleague – an intimate friend of President Kennedy, through whom I had obtained this interview – and to the editor of *The New Republic*. Both my confidants, who knew the President a thousand times better than I, agreed that John F. Kennedy had never before expressed himself so specifically and with such feeling on his understanding of the first phase of the Castro revolution. They hesitated to draw any political conclusions from his remarks. However, they were not surprised at Kennedy's invitation to come and see him again when I returned from Cuba.

In effect, John Kennedy displayed two basic characteristics in his exercise of power: first, an overwhelming degree of empiricism and realism. A man without a particular doctrine, he reacted decisively to events, and only to events. Nothing but the shock of collision with a problem was sufficient to make him come to a decision, and because of this, his decisions were unpredictable. At that point he had a consuming need for information, and this need had increased a great deal since experience had taught him not to rely solely on official channels.

After this, I went to Havana.

### *Night Session*

In the "Pearl of the Antilles, rum-perfumed and steeped in triumphant sensuality," as Cuba is described in those American tourist folders still lying about in the hotels of Havana, I spent three closely packed and intensive weeks, but thinking all along that I would never get to meet with Fidel Castro. I talked with farmers, writers and painters, militants and counter-revolutionaries, ministers and ambassadors – but Fidel remained inaccessible. I had been warned: he was snowed under with work; as a result of the hurricane, the Cuban government had been obliged to revise its whole planning program; and then, above all, he no longer had any desire to receive any journalists, least of all Western newsmen. I had practically given up hope when, on the evening of what I thought was to be my departure date (the capricious plane which links Havana with Mexico happily did not leave the next day after all), Fidel came to my hotel. He had heard of my interview with the President. We went up to my room at 10 in the evening and did not leave until 4 in the following morning. Here, I shall only recount that part of that interview which constitutes a reply to John F. Kennedy's remarks.

Fidel listened with devouring and passionate interest: he pulled at his beard, yanked his parachutist's beret down over his eyes, adjusted his maqui tunic, all the while making me the target of a thousand malicious sparks cast by his deep-sunk, lively eyes. At one point I felt as though I were playing the role of that partner with whom he had as strong a desire to confer as to do battle; as though I myself were in a small way that intimate enemy in the White House whom Khrushchev described to Fidel as someone with whom "it is possible to talk." Three times he had me repeat certain remarks, particularly those in which Kennedy expressed his criticism of the Batista regime, those in which Kennedy showed his impatience with the comments attributed to General de Gaulle, and lastly those in which Kennedy accused Fidel of having almost caused a war fatal to all humanity.

When I stopped talking, I expected an explosion. Instead, I was treated to a lengthy silence and, at the end of that silence, to a calm, composed, often humorous, always thoughtful exposition. I don't know whether Fidel has changed, or whether these cartoons caricaturing him as a ranting madman which appear in the Western press perhaps correspond to a former reality. I only know that at no time during the two complete days I spent with him (and during which a great deal happened), did Castro abandon his composure and poise. Here too, I shall let Castro speak for himself, reserving only the possibility of correcting certain judgments on these two political leaders based on my own experiences in Cuba.

"I believe Kennedy is sincere," Fidel declared. "I also believe that today the expression of this sincerity could have political significance. I'll explain what I mean. I haven't forgotten that Kennedy centered his electoral campaign against Nixon on the theme of firmness toward Cuba. I have not forgotten the Machiavellian tactics and the equivocation, the attempts at



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invasion, the pressures, the blackmail, the organization of a counter-revolution, the blockade and, above everything, all the retaliatory measures which were imposed before, long before there was the pretext and alibi of Communism. But I feel that he inherited a difficult situation; I don't think a President of the United States is ever really free, and I believe Kennedy is at present feeling the impact of this lack of freedom. I also believe he now understands the extent to which he has been misled, especially, for example, on Cuban reaction at the time of the attempted Bay of Pigs invasion. I also think he is a realist: he is now registering that it is impossible to simply wave a wand and cause us, and the explosive situation throughout Latin America, to disappear.

### *Why the Missiles Were Installed*

"There is one point on which I want to give you new information right away. I have refrained from doing this until now; but today an attempt is being made to frighten all mankind by propagating the idea that Cuba, and in particular I, might provoke a nuclear war, so I feel the world should know the true story of the missile emplacement.

"Six months before these missiles were installed in Cuba, we had received an accumulation of information warning us that a new invasion of the island was being prepared under sponsorship of the Central Intelligence Agency, whose administrators were humiliated by the Bay of Pigs disaster and by the spectacle of being ridiculed in the eyes of the world and berated in US government circles. We also knew that the Pentagon was vesting the CIA preparations with the mantle of its authority, but we had doubts as to the attitude of the President. There were those among our informants who even thought it would suffice to alert the President and give him cause for concern in order to arrest these preparations. Then one day Khrushchev's son-in-law, Adzhubei, came to pay us a visit before going on to Washington at the invitation of Kennedy's associates. Immediately upon arriving in Washington, Adzhubei had been received by the American Chief Executive, and their talk centered particularly on Cuba. A week after this interview, we received in Havana a copy of Adzhubei's report to Khrushchev. It was this report which triggered the whole situation.

"What did Kennedy say to Adzhubei? Now listen to this carefully, for it is very important: he had said that the new situation in Cuba was intolerable for the United States, that the American government *had decided it would not tolerate it any longer;* he had said that peaceful coexistence was seriously compromised by the fact that 'Soviet influences' in Cuba altered the balance of strength, was destroying the equilibrium agreed upon and [at this point Castro emphasized his statement by pronouncing each syllable separately] *Kennedy reminded the Russians that the United States had not intervened in Hungary,* which was obviously a way of demanding Russian non-intervention in the event of a possible invasion. To be sure, the actual word 'invasion' was not mentioned and Adzhubei, at the time, lacking any background information, could not draw the same conclusions as we did. But when we communicated to Khrushchev all our previous information, the Russians too began to interpret the Kennedy-Adzhubei conversation as we saw it and they went to the source of our information. By the end of a month, the Russian and Cuban governments had reached the *definite conviction* that an invasion might take place from one moment to the next. This is the truth.

"What was to be done? How could we prevent the invasion? We found that Khrushchev was concerned about the same things that were worrying us. He asked us what we wanted. We replied: *do whatever is needed to convince the United States that any attack on Cuba is the same as an attack on the Soviet Union.* And how to realize this objective? All our thinking and discussions revolved around this point. We thought of a proclamation, an alliance, conventional military aid. The Russians explained to us that their concern was twofold: first, they wanted to save the Cuban revolution (in other words, their socialist honor in the eyes of the world), and at the same time they wished to avoid a world conflict. They reasoned that if conventional military aid was the extent of their assistance, the United States might not hesitate to instigate an invasion, in which case Russia would retaliate and this would inevitably touch off a world war."

At this point I interrupted to ask how Cuba could have been absolutely certain of Soviet intervention. After all, I said, Stalin certainly "let down" Markos, the Chief of the Greek Communist Resistance, because such help would have conflicted with prevailing zones of influence.

"I know," Castro replied, "but the two situations cannot be compared." Then he continued:

"Russia was much too deeply committed to us. Moreover, since then we have had every proof of the immense solidarity of the Soviet people and its leaders. You can see for yourself how clearly this solidarity is manifest here. Then there is something else, specifically apropos of Stalin. When I was in the USSR and others, outside Russia, were reproaching Khrushchev for taking a more conciliatory stand than Stalin toward the capitalists, Khrushchev confided to me several examples, which I will not repeat to you, illustrating the prudence, even the abdication of Stalin. He told me – and I believe him – that Stalin would never have emplaced missiles in Cuba.



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"It is true that it was said then by other factions that the real reason for installing the missiles was because certain internal problems were driving the Russians to use us to provoke the United States. I am here to tell you that the Russians didn't want and do not today want war. One only need visit them on their home territory, watch them at work, share their economic concerns, admire their intense efforts to raise the workers' standard of living, to understand right away that they are far, very far, from any idea of provocation or domination. However, Soviet Russia was confronted by two alternatives: an absolutely inevitable war (because of their commitments and their position in the socialist world), if the Cuban revolution was attacked; or the risk of a war if the United States, refusing to retreat before the missiles, would not give up the attempt to destroy Cuba. They chose socialist solidarity and the risk of war.

"Under these circumstances, how could we Cubans have refused to share the risks taken to save us? It was, in the final analysis, a question of honor, don't you agree? Don't you believe that honor plays a role in politics? You think we are romantics, don't you? Perhaps we are. And why not? In any event, we are militants. In a word, then, we agreed to the emplacement of the missiles. And I might add here that for us Cubans it didn't really make so much difference whether we died by conventional bombing or a hydrogen bomb. Nevertheless, we were not gambling with the peace of the world. The United States was the one to jeopardize the peace of mankind by using the threat of war to stifle revolutions.

"And so in June, 1962, my brother Raoul and Che Guevara went to Moscow to discuss ways and means of installing the missiles. The convoy arrived by sea in three weeks. The United States was able to find out that weapons were being shipped in, of course; but it took them two months to discover that these weapons were guided missiles. Two months . . . in other words, longer than we had calculated. Because, of course, we were seeking intimidation, not aggression."

### *Alliance for Progress*

The conversation now turned to the Alliance for Progress. "In a way," Castro said, "it was a good idea, it marked progress of a sort. Even if it can be said that it was overdue, timid, conceived on the spur of the moment, under constraint . . . despite all that I am willing to agree that the idea in itself constituted an effort to adapt to the extraordinarily rapid course of events in Latin America. Such as, for example, what we read in the papers this morning – did you see the news? That Argentina is nationalizing the oil industry? The Argentine government! Do you realize what that means? This will cause more commotion on the New York stock exchange than Castroism! The Catholic and military conservatives of Argentina, the factions most closely linked with American interests! There is talk of nationalization of industries there, of agrarian reform there . . . well and good! If the Alliance for Progress provokes these developments, then it's not doing so badly; all these things are consonant with the aspirations of the people. I can look back to the days of Eisenhower, or rather of Nixon, and recall the furore which broke out when the United States and Cuba together decreed an agrarian reform which was to apply, mark this well, only to landowners of over 200,000 hectares! Yes, 200,000! Yet the reaction of the trusts was terrible at that time. Nowadays, in the other Latin American countries, because the Communist banner is used as a bogeyman, the reaction of the American trusts is shrewder. They are going to choose strawmen, so as to rule indirectly. But there will be difficulties.

"This is why Kennedy's good ideas aren't going to yield any results. It is very easy to understand and at this point he surely is aware of this because, as I told you, he is a realist. For years and years American policy – not the government, but the trusts and the Pentagon – has supported the Latin American oligarchies. All the prestige, the dollars, and the power was held by a class which Kennedy himself has described in speaking of Batista. Suddenly a President arrives on the scene who tries to support the interests of another class (which has no access to any of the levers of power) to give the various Latin American countries the impression that the United Sates no longer stands behind the dictators, and so there is no more need to start Castro-type revolutions. What happens then? The trusts see that their interests are being a little compromised (just barely, but still compromised); the Pentagon thinks the strategic bases are in danger; the powerful oligarchies in all the Latin American countries alert their American friends; they sabotage the new policy; and in short, Kennedy has everyone against him. The few liberal or allegedly liberal presidents who were chosen as instruments of the new policy are swept out of office, like Bosch in Santo Domingo, or else they are transformed. Betancourt, for example, was not a Batista; now he has become one.

"In view of all these things, how can the American government seriously believe that Cuban subversion is at the root of explosions taking place all over the South American continent? In Venezuela, for example, are you familiar with the situation there? Do you think the Venezuelans need us to understand what's going on in their country? Do you think we don't have enough problems of our own? Right now I ask only one thing: Leave us in peace to better our country's economic situation, to put our planning into effect, to



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educate our young *compañeros*. This doesn't mean we do not feel solidarity toward nations that are struggling and suffering, like the Venezuelan people. But it is up to those nations to decide what they want, and if they choose other regimes than ours, this isn't our business."

### *"We Have Always Lived with Danger"*

I asked Fidel where is this all going to end? How will the situation develop? Even if the United States uses against you what you call the alibi of Communism, *it still remains true that you have chosen Communism*, that your economy and your security depend on the Soviet Union, and that even if you have no ulterior motives in this association, still the United States considers that you are part of an international strategy, that you constitute a Soviet base in a world where peace depends on mutual respect for a tacit division of zones of influence.

"I don't want to discuss our ties with the Soviet Union," Fidel Castro cut me short. "I find this indecent. We have none but feelings of fraternity and profound, total gratitude toward the USSR. The Russians are making extraordinary efforts on our behalf, efforts which sometimes cost them dear. But we have our own policies which are perhaps not always the same (we have proved this!) as those of the USSR. I refuse to dwell on this point, because asking me to say that I am not a pawn on the Soviet chessboard is something like asking a woman to shout aloud in the public square that she is not a prostitute.

"If the United States sees the problem as you have posed it, then you are right, there is no way out. But who is the loser in the last analysis? They have tried everything against us, everything, absolutely everything, and we are still alive and getting better day by day; we are still standing upright, and we plan to celebrate with greater festivities than usual, on January 1, 1964, the *fifth anniversary* of the Cuban Revolution! The United States' policy of isolating us economically is less effective with each passing day; we are increasing our trade with the rest of the world. Even with Spain! We have just sold a shipment of 300,000 tons of sugar to the Spaniards. Far from discouraging us, the blockade is maintaining the revolutionary atmosphere we need to stiffen the country's backbone. Are we in danger? We have always lived with danger. To say nothing of the fact that you have no idea how many friends one discovers in the world when one is persecuted by the United States. No, truly, for all these reasons, we are not suppliants, we ask nothing. I'll tell you something else: since the rupture and the blockade, we have forgotten the United States. We feel neither hatred nor resentment any more, we simply don't think about the US. When I think of the problems which diplomatic relations with the United States would pose! The Swiss Ambassador is representing the US at present. I prefer to do business with him than with 200 members of an Embassy among whom surely some spies would be spotted.

"I have just talked to you as a Cuban revolutionary. But I should also speak to you as a peace lover, and from this viewpoint I believe the United States is too important a country not to have an influence on world peace. I cannot help hoping, therefore, that a leader will come to the fore in North America (why not Kennedy, there are things in his favor!), who will be willing to brave unpopularity, fight the trusts, tell the truth and, most important, let the various nations act as they see fit. I ask nothing: neither dollars, nor assistance, nor diplomats, nor bankers, nor military men – nothing but peace, and to be accepted as we are! We are socialists, the United States is a capitalist nation, the Latin American countries will choose what they want. All the same, at a time when the United States is selling wheat to the Russians, Canada is trading with China, de Gaulle respects Ben Bella, why should it be impossible to make the Americans understand that socialism leads, not to hostility toward them, but to coexistence? Why am I not Tito or Sekou Touré? Because the Russians have never done us any injury such as the Yugoslavians and the Guineans have complained of in the past, and because the Americans have never given us any of the benefits for which these two nations congratulate themselves today.

"As to this matter of fearing Soviet intentions in Latin America through Cuba's subversive activities, this is just attributing to others one's own desire to dominate. You said yourself just a little while ago that the Russians have had enough of their Cuban involvement. Economically this is obvious. This is why, speaking from a military viewpoint, it is better not to force nations to turn to the Russians for help. Really, it seems to me that a man like Kennedy is capable of seeing that it is not in the United States' interest to pursue a policy which can lead only to a stalemate. So far as we are concerned, everything can be restored to normalcy on the basis of mutual respect of sovereignty."

In conclusion, Fidel Castro said to me: "Since you are going to see Kennedy again, be an emissary of peace, despite everything. I want to make myself clear: I don't want anything, I don't expect anything, and as a revolutionary the present situation does not displease me. But as a man and as a statesman, it is my duty to indicate what the bases for understanding could be."

All this was said two days before President Kennedy's death.

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# *Gadflying with I. F. Stone*

*by Gerald W. Johnson*

For years I have been reading I. F. Stone's personal newspaper fairly consistently. Stone annoys me much, but I continue to read him because the wrong-headed, illogical, unfair and unjust way in which he writes about people I like is over-compensated by the precision, skill, neatness and dispatch with which he takes the hide off people I dislike.

*The Haunted Fifties*
by I. F. Stone
(Random House; $5.95)

There is, in fact, more to it than that. Stone's inferences sometimes seem to me to be *non sequiturs*, but I have not yet caught him deliberately misstating a fact, and he always has evidence, usually documentary, to support his judgments. This is no proof that he is invariably accurate, for documents can be falsified; but it isn't done by Stone, for he quotes correctly. He has, in addition, the merit of tremendous industry. How the man covers so much ground and reads so much dull stuff is beyond my comprehension; but I respect it.

His most conspicuous virtue, though, is negative. He comments on public affairs, which is to say that he deals constantly with the famous and powerful; but he has not learned to

"crook the pregnant hinges of the knee
Where thrift may follow fawning,"

and in the present state of the media of communication, that stands out like de Gaulle's nose. Fawning is the occupational disease that inevitably attacks news-vending when it becomes Big Business, and today, press – book-publishing excepted – television and radio are all fields for the operation of giant corporations. Millions are to be garnered there by those limber enough to assume the required attitude and with a real appetite for shoe-polish; and plenty can make it.

Stone cannot. In this he is by no means unique; his astonishing quality is not that he is independent but that, being independent, he has survived. His newspaper carries no advertising, except an occasional shop ad. It is supported entirely by subscriptions, yet it has survived for ten years – a minor miracle.

He has now assembled in book form some 375 pages of assorted comment on the events of the fifties, with a brief sortie into the sixties, which affords an opportunity for assessing the over-all value of this journalist.

To begin with, the qualities of the book as literature are easily dealt with. It is pungent to the extreme. It is couched in tense, nervous English, easy to read. It is as discontinuous as the dictionary. It is sometimes – but not as often as you might reasonably suppose – out-dated. It is almost purely destructive criticism. It is to be dipped into, for reading it at a sitting would be like swallowing a baby. It is journalism, unadulterated and unabashed. It is irritating, amusing and informative.

Finally, it is subversive – not Communist, oh, Lord, no! Stone is fully as contemptuous of the Communist as he is of the Democratic and Republican Parties, and that is saying plenty. He has not the faintest desire to overthrow the government by force and violence because it is precisely force and violence that have made the governments of all the nations objectionable, and to replace them violently would be not an essential change, but simply more of the same.

He would not even make any radical alterations in American institutions. One gathers that his attitude toward the Constitution is like that of Bernard Shaw toward Christianity – it might be a good thing if anybody had ever tried it.

Apparently his basic theory is that ours is not a government of laws, nor yet of men, but of lies, hypocrisy and

# No. 6025

*(Lines written upon receiving a Christmas card from an artist and poet who "cared enough to send the very best.")*

Not kiwi bird the fatuous dove
fatted with pastel beyond
the spare Picasso's angular dream
and Christmas gilt with specious flight,
a plump breast bared to taloned hawks
despite the olive branch not torn
with stone-honed beak from Pisgah's
bleak Iberian heights.

Lean apteryx can better fly
memorial wastes than one of these
and wingless whir the mind to flight
with cheapest paint-box green unmixed
or smudge of sharp, relentless orange –
and better too can sing with changing voice
than turtle witlessly at iterance
of solipsistic coo.

JOHN STEWART CARTER



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## Will You Help a Spanish Civil War Refugee?

THERE are still 100,000 Spanish refugees living in France who are in desperate need of help. Many are over 60, crippled by war wounds, too old to work and able to afford only one meal a day.

SPANISH REFUGEE AID, organized in 1953 and headed by Pablo Casals and Salvador de Madariaga, has raised over $600,000 in ten years to help these forgotten people.

Letters from Europe—

C.G.—twice wounded in the Civil War; in Franco's prisons for 7 years. Now 67 years old and ill; his salary as a dishwasher and $14 a month French government aid is below subsistence level.

J.M.—Civil War fighter, now 77 years old and hospitalized. He suffers from loneliness and severe depression. His $10 a month old age pension is paid to the hospital and he has no pocket money at all.

SPANISH REFUGEE AID helps thousands of these victims of totalitarianism.

WON'T YOU PLEASE HELP?

Spanish Refugee Aid, Inc.
80 East 11th St., NYC 3, NY

I wish to contribute.....for the Spanish Refugees.

I wish to "adopt" a Spanish Republican and send .....a month.

Name.....

Address.....

City.....

Zone.....State.....

Contributions are tax-deductible


deception – and he has piled up an appalling mass of evidence to prove his point. Yet he doesn't hate the men concerned – well, his attitude toward the late Joe McCarthy isn't exactly amiable, but the exception proves the rule. Generally, he regards public officials as trapped in snares that only super-human wisdom could have avoided. But he does hate fraud, and he does his quite effective best to foment that hatred in the public.

The question then arises, what is the rating of this character on the general scale of human values? His faults are obvious. Like Alexander Pope, he is witty, but humorless, therefore himself the predestined victim of certain kinds of fraud. He made a trip to Cuba, and if Castro, a much subtler propagandist than most Americans think, didn't stuff him full of prunes, then elephants roost in trees. Yet from that very same trip he brought back a great deal of factual information that is sound and valuable, but that had been ignored by most of the press. He shakes confidence in the existing system, yet he inspires confidence in freedom, which he considers inseparable from justice and truth. He denounces our addiction to catch-phrases, yet falls for some that were threadbare when J. J. Rousseau mouthed them two hundred years ago.

But faults that are obvious are *ipso facto* easily discounted by an intelligent reader. His merits, on the other hand, are either obscure or highly controversial in modern America. He is controversial in a day when controversy is equated with sin. He is bold, when courage is next door to treason. He is non-mercenary, when indifference to money is close akin to forgetting God. He is extremely diverting when being amusing without being on television is usurpation.

But here is one vote for rating him very high on the scale, for an efficient gadfly is a useful creature. Perhaps the word for I. F. Stone is that of a wise old university president I once knew when asked if he was not going to fire Professor Blank, who had gone off the campus to make a controversial speech: "Certainly not; why, gentlemen, I can think of nothing worse for us than to lose Professor Blank – except to have two Professor Blanks."

# *A Singular Author*

*by Hilary Corke*

Mr. Donleavy is lucky – not that one grudges him all the luck he can get. When *The Ginger Man* was written, he can have had little hope of placing it with a "respectable" publisher. Not in the least pornographic, as that stupid word should be understood, it was nevertheless largely about intercourse – to employ that term here for want of all the better ones; and it used all the words it could think of most appropriate to that unsolemn occasion. So it went to Girodias of the Olympia Press in Paris, who took it under his somewhat inclusive wing, as in the past he had taken Miller and Durrell and Beckett and Nabokov and Genet, and, for that matter, Cleland and de Sade. But the censorship wind veered toward the permissive at just the right moment. *The Ginger Man* is not merely published in the States but is freely available as a paperback. Mr. Donleavy rides the crest of the wave and *A Singular Man* has every chance of becoming a best seller.

*A Singular Man*
by J. P. Donleavy
(Atlantic-Little, Brown; $6)

It may be said at once that, if it gets this kind of success, it will deserve it. It is in the vein of the earlier book – the crazy gabble, the manic picaresque imbroglios, the wild unlikely coitions – but it is no mere copy. Donleavy has taken his explorations further; he develops – not always in fruitful directions, but at least he does not take the easy line of sitting still and singing it over again.

Sebastian Dangerfield, hero of *The Ginger Man*, was a poor wild Irishman, and the book was about his sexual and economic adventures. George Smith,



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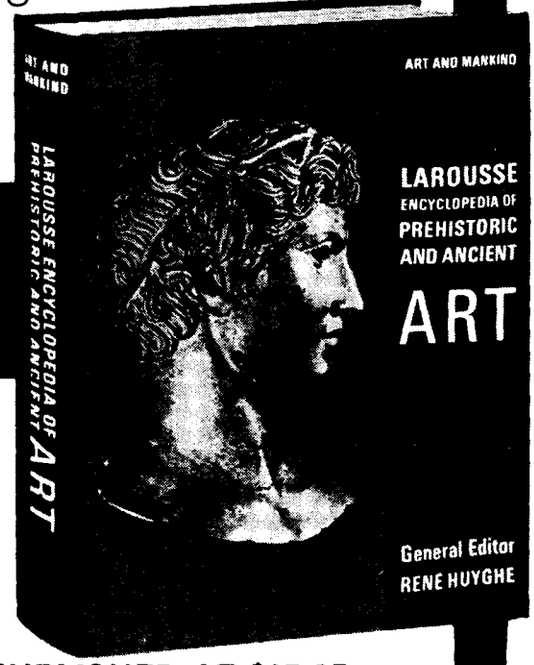


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hero of *A Singular Man*, is a rich, sad Irishman, long resident in the United States; the book is about the same things, but they come out different. He pursues, and achieves, his two secretaries: the "normal," puritanical, bourgeois-minded Miss Martin and the footloose, dizzy, unreliable Miss Thomson. He is separated from his greedy fun-loving wife Shirl and his four unendearing children. He is a shady and fabulously successful operator in some dubious line of business whose nature is never revealed, and his mail consists largely of incomprehensibly threatening communications such as

> Box 0006
> The Building,
> December 13th
> You well know which year.
> Dear Sir,
> Only for the moment are we saying nothing.
> Yours etc.
> Present Associates

But perhaps his principal interest is in the gigantic mausoleum that he is in process of erecting for the eventual reception of his own remains. A singular man, indeed.

One can't begin to sort Mr. Donleavy out within the limits of a short review, one just has to cut and come again. What follows, therefore, is necessarily a series of more or less disconnected remarks that can lead to no summation.

First, I suppose the most striking and characteristic thing is, not so much any particular scenes or characters (though these are often memorable enough), but the general mental climate, which is that of total release from repression, from inhibition and civilized tension; of uprush and outrush of libido, slaughtering of the psychic censor, letting the hair down. So the heroes are wild bulls in the prissy-mouth china-shop of the world, and all their acts outrage. The more conventional and glassy-eyed the dull norm from which these manic excursions begin, the longer the journey and the more rewarding the travel: which is why, for instance (and it is almost one of Mr. Donleavy's tics), people who are doing quite unlikely things to each other in bed almost invariably address each other by their surnames.

The way the books are written, also, is part of this climate of general license. It is a sort of poetic telegraphese:

> Mosquitoes. Crickets bantering under dead leaves all out through the woods. Two gigantic wolf hounds strolling licking faces among the gathering. Footmen and flit guns spraying the night. Murdering insects. Trays and trays from the pantries.
> "Ah sir you look lonely now, would you like to fill up your tankard."
> A maid. Stiff cowl of lace across her dark hair. Smiling.
> "You're beautiful."
> "Sir, flattery will get you somewhere. You're the gentleman as arrived in the funeral car. I had to laugh. Ah my God it's been some day. Since the gentleman with the cultivated ways arrived. I wouldn't want to tell you. The house is no longer safe. We're in fear of our lives. It's exciting."
> "What's your name."
> "You'll be trying your hand on me next. Like your gentleman friend. I'm Maureen. Ah Jesus I love men. They're great. Jesus, that Mr. Clementine. O God that man."
> "Where is that man. Maureen."
> "That man if you ask me is God himself and he can strike me dead for saying it."

A passage like that (I have telescoped it slightly) is representative of the whole, descriptions and dialogues alike, including the cliché turned on its head and the marvelous confusion of thought in the final sentence. As will be seen, with two strides it can cover a big stretch of ground. However, Mr. Donleavy has not availed himself of this technique to make his novel short. On the contrary, *A Singular Man* runs to four hundred pages and represents the average content of a book of two thousand. Little of this material is weak; but on the other hand a great deal of it is irrelevant. (That splendid maid, for example, has nothing to do with the story line at all.) In one mood one can call this abundant generosity. In another, one can feel that Donleavy ought to have exercised more restraint; that the best books about "license" are written with the least – with the greatest self-denial. In fact, that once again a possible added dimension has been abandoned in favor of more riot, more indulgence, more fun.

And this swift, evocative fluency, with a full stop or two on every painted line, tends to turn against itself in the end. It wearies – just as license itself wearies. The four hundred pages seem too much of a good thing. Often, though not in the quoted passage, the whole thing gets too arbitrary, too hit-or-miss, with too implicit a reliance upon an inspiration that is usually but not always, splendid, so that we have, not so much meaning, as gesture toward meaning. The choice of terms becomes surprising, but not interestingly surprising. One starts to skim and then to skip.

Add to this a slightly too explicit quest for originality, or for simple difference rather, masquerading as originality, quite unnecessary in a writer who has got so much of the real right stuff of his own. The complete omission throughout the book of the question-mark, for instance. Of recent years

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authors have discovered, and generally adopted, the practice of dropping this from time to time, to indicate the sort of flat question that is spoken as if it were a statement. This was a useful invention, extending the range of tones of the spoken voice that the printed word could economically convey. But to drop them all is merely regressive: the new territory that was won has been abandoned.

So I go on carping (and I could add a word about the financial-satire elements, borrowed, as I fancy, from Terry Southern's *The Magic Christian*, which do not seem to fall quite rewardingly into place). But to end on that note would be to give the wrong impression. *The Ginger Man* was a *tour de force*, a first novel that was good almost every way one looked at it. *A Singular Man* is in many respects even better. Smith, for example, is a much more subtly realized creation than Dangerfield. What I am grouching about, is that I don't find it "even better" in every possible way I could imagine.

M. Lehtola's jacket, by the way, in fabulous *trompe-l'oeil*, is the best thing of its kind that has lightened (and deceived) these old eyes – as Woollcott used to say – in a long while.

## RECORDS

# *Outstanding Records of 1963*

Bach: Chaconne; Szigeti (Vanguard recording of Sonatas for unaccompanied violin). Brandenburg Concertos; Klemperer with Philharmonia (Angel). Violin Concertos in A minor and E; David Oistrakh with strings of Vienna Symphony; Concerto for two violins in D minor; David and Igor Oistrakh with Royal Philharmonic under Goossens (Deutsche Grammophon).

Beethoven: Piano Concertos; Schnabel with orchestras under Sargent, Dobrowen and Galliera (Angel; better reproduced on Electrola). Piano Concerto No. 5; Cliburn with Chicago Symphony under Reiner (RCA Victor; better reproduced by mono record). Nine Symphonies; Von Karajan with Berlin Philharmonic (Deutsche Grammophon; better reproduced by mono records).

Berlioz: *Cléopatre;* Tourel with New York Philharmonic under Bernstein (Columbia).

Byrd: Mass for 5 voices et al.; Choir of King's College, Cambridge, under Willcocks (London).

Fauré: Requiem; Brasseur Chorus, De los Angeles, Fischer-Dieskau under Cluytens (Angel).

Handel: Concertos Nos. 2 and 3 for 2 wind choirs and strings, *Royal Fireworks Music* for winds; instrumental groups under Wenzinger (Deutsche Grammophon Archive).

Haydn: Symphonies Nos. 98 and 88; Jochum with Berlin Philharmonic (Deutsche Grammophon). Symphony No. 96; Goberman with Vienna State Opera orchestra (Library of Recorded Masterpieces).

Mahler: Symphony No. 1; Bruno Walter with recording orchestra (Columbia). Symphony No. 2; Klemperer with Philharmonia, Schwarzkopf, Roessl-Majdan (Angel; stereo version has defective fourth side).

Mozart: Piano Concerto K.482; Anda with Salzburg Camerata Academica (Deutsche Grammophon). Violin Concertos K.216 and 219; Grumiaux with London Symphony under Davis (Philips; reduce treble). Symphonies K.319 and 425 (*Linz*); Davis with English Chamber Orchestra (Oiseau Lyre). Piano Sonatas K.330 and 333, Fantasia K.396; Barenboim (Music Guild). Serenade K.361; Jochum with winds of Bavarian Radio Orchestra (Deutsche Grammophon). Arias; Berganza with London Symphony under Pritchard (London); Stich-Randall with orchestra under Somogyi (Westminster).

Purcell: *Dido and Aeneas;* Lewis with Janet Baker, Monica Sinclair, St. Anthony Singers, English Chamber Orchestra (Oiseau Lyre).

Rossini: *The Barber of Seville;* Gui with Bruscantini, De los Angeles, Alva, Royal Philharmonic, Glyndebourne Festival Chorus (Angel).

Scarlatti: Sonatas for harpsichord; Valenti (Westminster reissues); Valenti (Music Guild).

Schubert: Symphony No. 9; Toscanini with Philadelphia Orchestra (1941) (RCA Victor). Quintet Op. 114 (*Trout*); Horszowski and members of the Budapest Quartet (Columbia). *Die schoene Muellerin;* Fischer-Dieskau and Moore (Angel). *Schwanengesang;* Fischer-Dieskau and Moore (Angel). *Die Winterreise;* Hotter and Werba (Deutsche Grammophon).

Stravinsky: *Oedipus Rex;* Stravinsky with Shirley, Verrett, orchestra and chorus of Washington Opera Society (Columbia) Davis with soloists, Royal Philharmonic, Sadler's Wells Chorus (Angel).

Tchaikovsky: Symphony No. 4; Maazel with Berlin Philharmonic (Deutsche Grammophon).

Victoria: Missa Quarti Toni; Chorale Sant-Jordi under O. Martrell; Motets; Schola du Grand Scholasticat under R. P. L. Deiss (Music Guild).

Wagner: Flagstad's final concert with the Symphony of the Air (1955) (Orfeo-Sonic).

Collections: Kreisler and Rachmaninov in sonatas of Beethoven and Schubert, Kreisler and Zimbalist in Bach concerto (Victor). *Instrumental Music of the Year 1600;* Concentus Musicus (Vanguard). Tiana Lemnitz in arias and duets by Verdi, Gluck, Tchaikovsky, Weber, Wagner (Rococo). Lotte Lehmann in songs by Schubert, Schu-

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mann, Strauss, Wolf (Columbia). Elena Gerhardt in songs by Schubert, Schumann, Strauss, Wolf (Rococo). Frida Leider in arias from *Don Giovanni* and *Fidelio;* Leider and Melchior in excerpts from *Tristan und Isolde* (Angel). Helge Roswaenge in arias by Meyerbeer, Verdi, Wagner et al. (Telefunken). *An Evening of Elizabethan Music;* Julian Bream Consort (Victor).

To these add Glenn Gould's unique performances of Bach's Partitas Nos. 3 and 4, on Columbia ML-5898 (mono), which, like his earlier performances of the other four Partitas, seize and hold attention with the exciting life they create in even the dull passages. (All six are on M2L-293 (mono). I advise against M2S-693 (stereo), on which the monophonic Nos. 5 and 6 are "electronically rechanneled for stereo.")

Add also Valenti's superb harpsichord performances of Bach's Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue and Toccata in D, with several less attractive pieces, on Columbia ML-5916 (mono). Reissued on Westminster W-9317/8/9 (mono only) are Volumes 4, 5 and 6 of Valenti's performances of Scarlatti sonatas, each record offering several especially good specimens of the delightful genre. And reissued on Capitol-Odeon QJLP-108 (mono only) are the performances Landowska recorded in 1939 of a second group of Scarlatti sonatas that also includes several especially good ones (the recorded sound is adequate).

Four of Corelli's Concerti Grossi Op. 6 – the outstanding No. 8 (*Christmas Concerto*) and engaging Nos. 2, 6 and 7 – and the superlative playing of the Virtuosi di Roma under Fasano's direction are on Angel 36130 (mono). And reissued on Westminster W-9026/7/8 (mono only) are a number of Haydn's piano trios, played effectively by Badura-Skoda, Jean Fournier and Janigro, with 9027 offering the best group of pieces.

Vanguard BG-639 and BGS-5051, *Madrigal Masterpieces Vol. 2,* have Monteverdi's cycle, *Lagrime d'Amante al Sepolcro dell' Amata,* and other fine pieces by Monteverdi, Marenzio and Gesualdo, among others, sung beautifully by the Deller Consort (even with the unattractive timbre of Alfred Deller's counter-tenor that is prominent



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now and then). Also, two groups of Dowland's lovely Ayres for 4 voices are reissued on Westminster W-9602/3, sung well by the Golden Age Singers with the lutenist Julian Bream. And London's issuing of the complete Oiseau-Lyre catalogue has made available again the superb Monteverdi *Vespers of 1610* and *Magnificat*, excellently performed on OL-50021/2 (mono only), and Handel's *Semele*, another superb work, performed well on OL-50098/9/100 (mono only).

B. H. HAGGIN

## FILMS

# *Room at the Bottom*

*Billy Liar* (Continental)

The three Englishmen principally responsible for *A Kind of Loving* – John Schlesinger, the director, Keith Waterhouse and Willis Hall, the screenwriters – have now produced *Billy Liar*. This is the second metamorphosis of the work, which was originally a novel by Waterhouse; it was dramatized by him and Hall and was presented successfully in London and elsewhere. The material is simple: the fantasies of a twenty-year-old provincial clerk that are his refuge from the frustrations to which circumstances and weakness of character have sentenced him.

One of the strengths of this film is that it really relies on its material. There is minimal plotting, as such. Several things happen to Billy in the course of the story: the two girls to whom he is simultaneously engaged find out about it and throw him over; the girl he really likes leaves for London without him; his grandmother dies; his pipedream of a big-city job explodes. But the emphasis of director and authors is on organic development, not on contrivances of conflict and climax. The basic purpose is to explore Billy's character, and the motions of the story are merely sufficient to put it on view. This is intelligent risk-taking in a film, and here it is largely successful.

Billy is a clerk in a firm of undertakers, which profession we see from the inside. (Miss Mitford will note that, in smarminess at least, the British Way of Death is not very different from ours.) His problem is that he is normal, in his dreams and even his daydreams: abnormal in the way that his daydreams influence his actions. He cannot help lying even when there is no need for it, just to affect in some way the reality that he hates. When a neighbor asks about his father's health, Billy, for no reason, invents an illness and operation. When complications follow, he lies more desperately. Similarly he has pointlessly lied his way into his two betrothals to girls whom he does not want to marry. Then, whenever matters become especially tight, he imagines himself in trooper's uniform with a submachine gun, spattering his tormentors with bullets.

Schlesinger slips the film easily in and out of the fantasy sequences: the trooper flashes, or Billy's imaginary country, Ambrosia, whose dictator and defender he is. The chief bond between Billy and his beloved is their mutual imaginary country. He also has a few visions about sex, about suffering in prison and writing it up, of the transformation of his middle-class parents into toffs. Additionally, we see Billy play-acting in life, with his fellow-clerks or alone in his boss' office where he wallows in mimicries. Moments like these – because they delve into byways of whimsy hard to define but universally true – are the film's best.

In terms of what he has to do, Tom Courtenay, of *The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner*, is versatile and funny. In terms of what he is, he lacks conviction. One cannot believe that two girls would be fighting over him and that the "free" girl would have chosen

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him above all the rest. Julie Christie, as this girl, is adequate but is handicapped by the fact that she has been told that she is a striking new personality. We get a great many smiles. Mona Washbourne, Ethel Griffies, Finlay Currie are excellent as various local types. In his first dramatic role, as Billy's father, the well-known BBC figure Wilfred Pickles has appropriate vinegar.

As one expects by now from a Waterhouse-Hall script, the dialogue is lean and swift, the characters generally well understood and distilled. The exception to this is Miss Christie's role, which seems rootless and weakly motivated. There is also a weakness in the device of the firm's Christmas calendars: 200 of them that Billy omitted to mail and has kept in his wardrobe at home. (He has pocketed the postage money.) Why are they so difficult to get rid of? And if it is difficult, why does he carry them back to the office itself, a few at a time, to flush them down the toilet? The sequence seems forced. In contrast are numerous subtle and felicitous touches, like the dance band on the midnight train by which Billy and his girl plan to leave for London. The musicians' sleaziness seems to predict the future of the runaways.

Schlesinger and his authors have a weakness for scenes in which a character sits and thinks until he reaches a decision. (Billy does it here in his bedroom.) But this director knows how to get the most out of his settings (cemetery, office, hospital, sooty hills) and how to make scenes flow in and out of rooms, up and down stairs, through streets, like coursing water. In his increasing skill with the film form and with actors, there is the sense of a watchful, responsive talent.

Despite its North Country setting, this is not just one more English social-realist film, telling us of the plight – fixed or altering – of the working class. As is made clear with the shots of council houses under the credits, the concern here is with the new middle class, enlarging in Britain as it has already enlarged here, with the young among them deluded by propaganda of possibilities into believing that all things are possible for them. The facile comparison of Billy with Walter Mitty does not hold. Mitty is a middle-aged householding husband whose fate is molded and made, who knows it and dreams instead of drinking. Billy is still in process of realizing his boundaries, has not yet quite reached them. The mythology of advertising, the benzedrine of mass communications implant and pump up the dream. (Billy's idea of escape and realization is to become a script writer for a comic.) Industrial democracy ("All Things Are Equally On Sale to All – As Long as You All Keep Buying") *must* make him believe that all things are possible: so that he will buy the magazines, the TV set, the pop record, the new ties. If they will make him look and act and talk like Frank Sinatra, maybe he can have Frank Sinatra's life.

But he will never leave the little humdrum street. First, there is *not* room at the top, not that much. Second, only extraordinary luck or drive (more important than extraordinary abilities) can blast him upward. Some do it; many more do not, and can, if they


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choose, console themselves with fantasies. What is needed, of course, is anger at the professional lies, the false promises of possibilities that, even when realized, are not worth much. The few at the top get their pink Cadillacs by pushing the dope-dreams of pink Cadillacs. *Billy Liar* is a good allegory of the striptease that the Bitch Goddess performs, just out of reach, before she sends the wide-eyed watcher back to solitary satisfactions.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

# Correspondence

## The Necessity of Eisenhower

*Sirs:*

I seem to have provoked Murray Kempton by writing, in a *New Yorker* review of Dwight Eisenhower's memoirs, that it was a good thing, a kind of "historical necessity," that Eisenhower was elected President in 1952. I may have been wrong, though I think I was not, but I wish to correct the impression that could have been led to this view, or any view, by reading Eisenhower. "Just by never deviating from the assurance that he was necessary," Kempton writes, "Mr. Eisenhower has ended by convincing even Rovere of his necessity." It wasn't Eisenhower's *book* that led me to this view. The book led me only to thoughts of President Dodsworth Babbitt. At least as long ago as 1955, I thought and wrote that it was better that Dwight Eisenhower had been President in 1953 and 1954 than that it should have been Adlai Stevenson.

As I see it, and saw it, there would have been a very pretty mess indeed if Stevenson had won in 1952. Of course, one can always say that a country that would have elected Stevenson would have been quite different from the one over which Eisenhower presided. True, but the only country we know is the one that elected Eisenhower – McCarthy's country, MacArthur's country, the country at war in Korea, the country the Democrats had been carrying for twenty years, a place in 1952, of infinite frustrations and confusions and distempers. Kempton writes: "The judgment that he was the best that America could have had in the White House in those years is too kind to him and too harsh on us." He could have said that about George Washington.

*Richard Rovere*
*New York City*

## Masks of McLandress

*Sirs:*

Your roving Burgundian, J. K. Beaujolais, in reviewing Mark Epernay's *The McLandress Dimension* (*NR*, November 30), cites my essay (*The New Leader*, August 19) which reports a study by a French sociologist that parallels in a remarkable way the McLandress "scale" and asks whether I have mixed up my facts (since the study was slightly at variant with that of Dr. McLandress) or whether a school of sociologists has arisen in France to carry on McLandress' work. I think the answer is neither.

The French sociologist was Professor Socinus Grelot, who spent a year at the Stanford Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences, and who is known to a cultivated few for his work in Eumerogenesis, a branch of Neuro-Sociology, his study of academic folk culture entitled *The Streets of Libido*, and his anthropological researches into divorce entitled *The Ex-Kinship Structure in the US*. Regrettably his work is not better known to a wider reading public, for his sole work in English, *Sociologomachy*, was printed only in a small edition by The Free Press of Glencoe, Illinois (1961).

Professor Grelot's content analysis of speeches was made before the publication of Mr. Epernay's book. One can assume the principle of convergence, and there is sufficient theoretical evidence in the work of Professor Robert K. Merton on "Priorities in Scientific Discovery," or Alexander Goldenweiser's classic essay "The Principle of Limited Possibilities in the Development of Culture" to show that simultaneous invention is actually the rule rather than the exception in science. Or, one can assume that even before the publication of his studies, word of McLandress' dimension spread among the cognescenti (the present-day version of the "invisible colledge" which preceded the formation of the Royal Society) and though Professor Grelot was not a member of that "contact net," the idea, casually mentioned, may have given impulse to his own studies. The rapid spread of horses among the American Plains Indians – the classic illustration of the speed of diffusion of cultural objects before the rise of the mimeograph machine – would provide warranty for that conclusion. I am in-

## Notes on Contributors

Jean Daniel *writes for* L'Express, Le Monde, *and* The New Republic. Hilary Corke, *a British poet and critic, is the author of* The Early Drowned. John Stewart Carter *was recently a Fulbright Profesor of English at the University of Teheran.*


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clined to the latter probability.

M. Beaujolais honors me by calling me "in certain respects the American Epernay." M. Beaujolais, as a vintage connoisseur of sociological subtleties, (*vide* his extraordinary discernment of the confusions between the vastly different concepts of *The American Establishment* and *The Power Elite*) should not mix his disciplines. I am a sociologist. Mark Epernay, although acquainted with the grosser features of the behavioral sciences is not. I would guess that *Epernay* is the French-Canadian spelling of the French *Epargner*, which means "to economize," and that Mr. Epernay is not an Alsatian journalist, as Mr. Beaujolais hazards, but, by origin, a French-Canadian economist.

As to the identity of Dr. McLandress, whose existence is doubted by M. Beaujolais (does he suggest that he a figment of the author's, to "epernay l'academique?"), I would propose a simple clue: McLandress is the Scotch form of *Landrat*, the agent of a central administration. Dr. McLandress, clearly, is an inner member of the American Establishment.

*Daniel Bell*
*Columbia University*

## President Kennedy's Rights Program

*Sirs:*

John F. Kennedy did more for civil rights in less than three years in the White House than any President before him. And the legislation which President Kennedy proposed on June 19 of this year was far more comprehensive than any Chief Executive had previously urged upon the Congress. We will best serve his memory by redoubling our efforts to achieve the enactment of that legislation without dilution and without delay.

In this connection, it would seem advisable to clear the record on what the House Judiciary Committee actually did to President Kennedy's bill. The reasoning by which Professor Bickel in his column of November 16 and *The New Republic* in its editorial of November 23 arrive at the conclusion that the civil rights bill just reported out by the House Judiciary Committee is somehow weaker than the President's original bill, is incredible to the more



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than 70 organizations of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights which unanimously believe their efforts have strengthened the original bill.

Mr. Bickel and *The New Republic* rest their case upon the argument that something significant was lost by the deletion of the provision for a Community Relations Service and of the provision for court authority to appoint temporary referees in those political subdivisions where less than 15 percent of a racial group votes.

But omission of the Community Relations Service is easily remedied; in his civil rights message June 19, President Kennedy said he intended to establish such a Service by Executive Order until it could be created by statute and this can certainly be accomplished by President Johnson who first proposed a Conciliation Service. And, as far as the voting referees are concerned, it should be noted that a voting referee plan has been in effect since the Eisenhower Administration and there has never been a referee appointed.

Thus, there is grave doubt whether anything was "lost" in the House Judiciary Committee's changes in these two respect. But, if losses there were, they are only a feather in the scales against the substantial gains made in the final bill. Just to list a few of the improvements in the final Committee bill:

► The bill now contains an FEPC (even Mr. Bickel calls this a "big plus").

► The bill now gives the Attorney General authority to intervene in private suits brought to protect peaceful protesters against the clubs and fire hoses of local police.

► The United States Civil Rights Commission is made permanent.

► The Census Bureau is directed to compile voting statistics to lay the ground work for a move to reduce House representation in states that deny the franchise for reasons of race.

► Where a civil rights defendant in a hostile state court removes the case to the Federal District Court, the Committee bill provides a right of appeal to the Federal Court of Appeals from any decision of the Federal District judge remanding the case to the state courts.

*Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.*
*Washington, D. C.*


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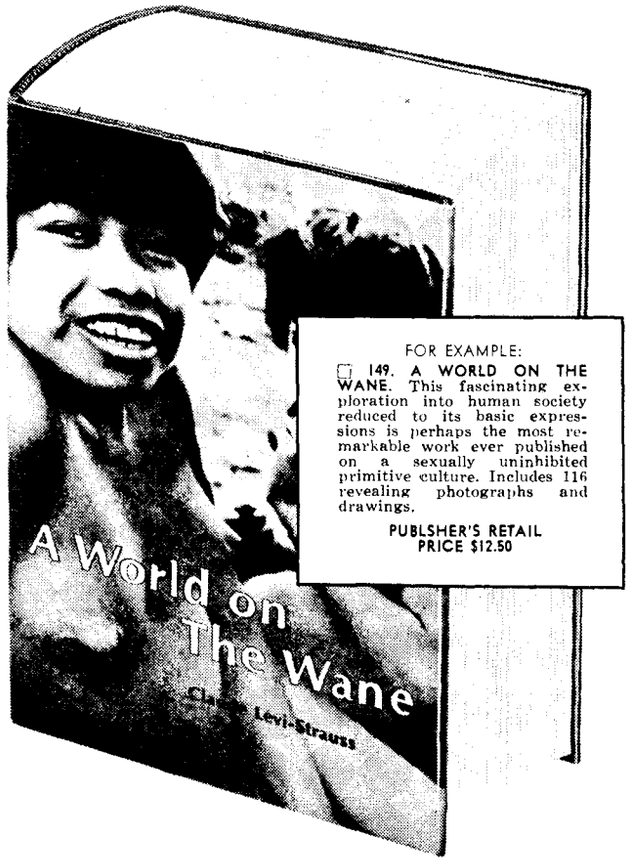


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